# THE CONSTRUCTIVE REVOLUTION OF JESUS

By Samuel Dickey

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# THE CONSTRUCTIVE REVOLUTION OF JESUS

## A STUDY OF SOME OF HIS SOCIAL ATTITUDES

BY

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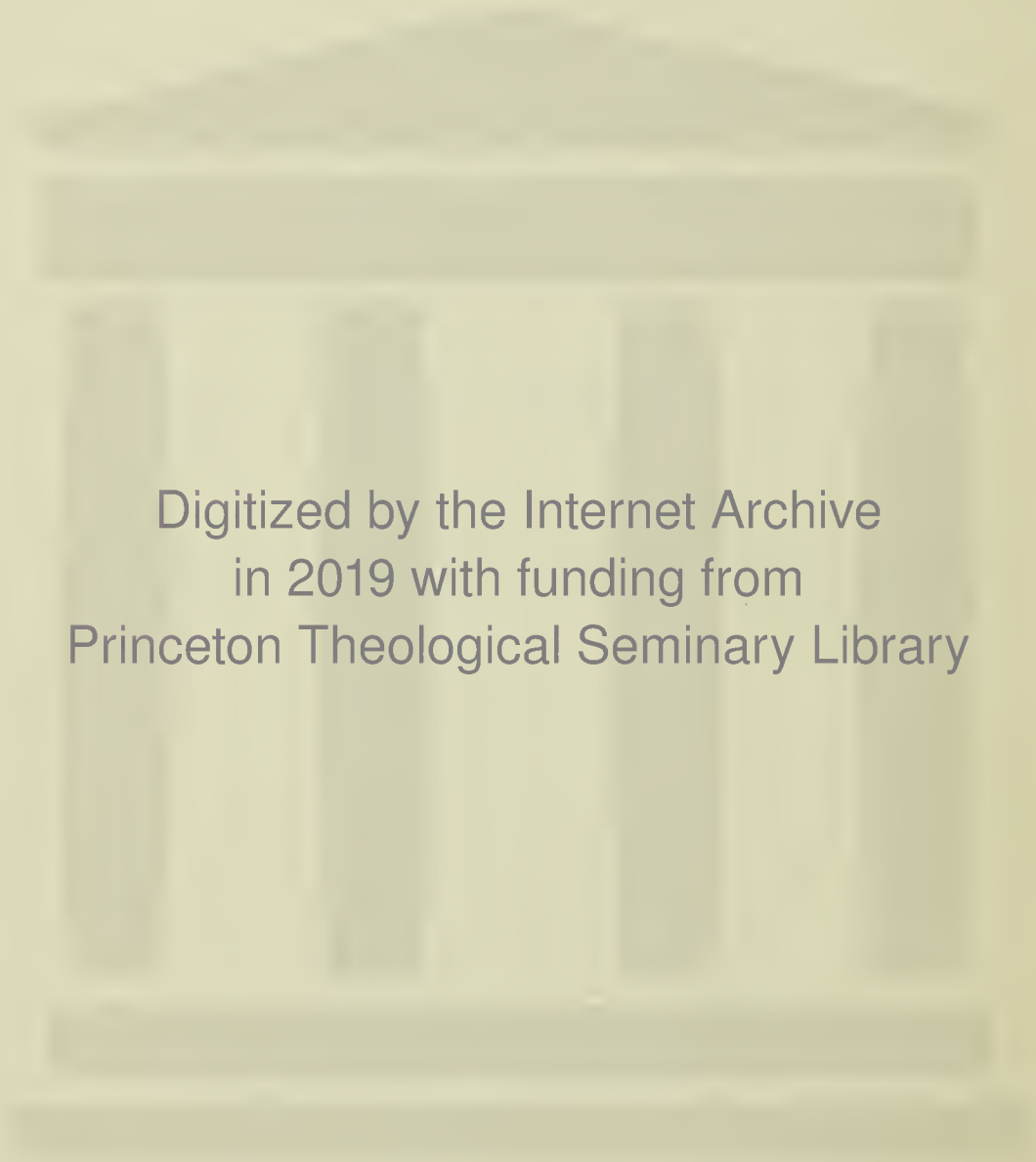
TO

THE MEMORY OF

WALTER RAUSCHENBUSCH



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# INTRODUCTION

"The Bible," writes Dean Hodges, "is a dangerous and dynamic book, radical and revolutionary, essentially democratic, and puts all our conservatisms in peril." [1] This is a somewhat startling statement. It rather jars on our conventional and complacent satisfaction with the world as it is. It raises the query whether we have understood the Bible as thoroughly as we had supposed, and whether the widely accepted view that religion is a social sedative and anodyne does not need revising.

Jesus, too, seems to invite re-examination. Dr. Hutton, noting the inference of the Jewish priests from the boldness of Peter and John at the Beautiful Gate of the Temple, "that they had been with Jesus," remarks: "They caught in the voice of Peter and felt in his moral effrontery the like of which they had known in his Master." [2] This "moral effrontery" of Jesus is a novel feature in His portrait. It does not harmonize exactly with the conventional likeness of Him current either in art or literature. Is it possible that He also has been misunderstood? That His personality has been softened, His attitudes mollified, His programme diluted, until the milk and water draught that remains is no longer piquant enough to tempt the world to taste it, much less potent enough to cure its

[1] *How to Know the Bible*, 1918, p. 348.
[2] *The Proposal of Jesus*, 1920, p. 62.

conspicuous ailments if accepted? Surely His sweetness and amiability have been overdone, His love and kindness sometimes debased into a rather flabby sort of sentimentality. If He was so innocuous and amiable, why were so many of His contemporaries madly incensed against Him? Inoffensive characters seldom provoke people to move heaven and earth to put them to death, nor do they leave the mark behind them we trace in the world's history from Christ's day down to this. "Never man spake as this man," they said. Of His followers, "Those who have turned the world upside down have come hither also." But the Church tells a more trite and insipid story to-day, and these venturesome followers of His do not appear to have come as far as the twentieth century. Surely if He was half as divine as we have esteemed Him, there was something unique about Him and His programme, which arrested and compelled—or else offended—for men are not accustomed to either deify or execrate the tame and commonplace.

What was there about Him then that gave rise to such contrary opinions? Was He a Conservative or a Liberal? A Tory or a Revolutionist? How did He align Himself to the movements of His day? How did He regard its customary sanctions and standards? Were its time-honoured institutions, its inherited practices, accepted by Him without examination or appraisement? Did He never pause to weigh and balance His loyalties, and determine what allegiance and responsibility rested most heavily upon Him—to God or family, or Church or State? In a word, what were His social attitudes? How did He relate Himself to contemporary movements, organizations and conditions of men?

It would seem as though there were a field for such an investigation. Much recent study has been devoted to the social teaching of Jesus ; but not much reference has been made to His personal social attitudes. The spoken words often suggest the inner direction of the person, but only the total picture can reveal the complete orientation of the mind and heart.

We have set ourselves the task of this inquiry in no spirit of self-confidence or irreverent intrusion. The problem is not easy, the indications lie often beneath the surface, and the complete induction contains conflicting data which are hard to harmonize. Yet the quest is central, and the justified results cannot fail to be significant for a Church which is seeking to find her bearings amid a changing order.

We shall gather something from the form and spirit of Jesus' approach to the outstanding men and movements of His day ; something from the hints and gestures which betray His estimates of them ; more from occasional outspoken pronouncements upon vital questions and conditions ; we shall gain still more from a general survey of the whole, a synthesis of all we know about Him in this particular, and from an attempt to discover the deeper consistency which underlay His words and life.

He will remain something of a paradox, of an enigma, to the end. Our sources are too contradictory, too fragmentary, to construct a wholly consistent figure without violence. And He has been too often the victim of *tours de force.* He will also remain elusive. Great men are always elusive, and He most of all. Were He not mysterious, He could never have been regarded " the only begotten of the Father, full of grace and truth."

# The Constructive Revolution of Jesus

## CHAPTER I

## JESUS AND THE PARTIES OF HIS DAY

We identify a man by his party, and so label him with a familiar name. Can we thus identify Jesus? To what contemporary school did He belong? What leaders did He follow? What shibboleths did He confess?

In the fifteenth year of Tiberius there appeared suddenly in the wilderness of Judea an extraordinary figure. Clothed in the weird garb of the ancient prophet, eating the ascetic food of the desert, howling defiance at the conventional teachers of his time, he emerged Elijah-like resolved to effect the reformation of his people. His weapons were as old as his prophetic office: the message of approaching judgment; the prophecy of a crisis of discrimination between the good and bad in Israel; the appearance within this generation of the Messiah of God.

This "voice" from the wilderness shook Palestine from border to border. The common people especially recognized in him a prophet and flocked to his baptism,

signifying by their submission not only a desire for forgiveness but a preparation for the approaching Messianic crisis he foretold. Both Josephus[1] and the New Testament[2] bear testimony to the number of his followers, and the latter to their persistence as a party after the death of Jesus.[3] Into fellowship with this party Jesus was Himself initiated by the rite of baptism, and confessed He esteemed no man born of woman greater than this strange idol of the masses, John "the Baptizer."[4] Jesus' own early ministry seems to have much resembled John's. It, too, emphasized repentance and the nearness of Jehovah's rule, and continued the rite of baptism.[5] In important aspects, therefore, it was a continuation of the Baptist's work.

This John was a free lance. Born of the people, though of priestly heritage, unlearned in the schools, a child of the deserts, he was the typical prophet reappearing again in Israel after a hiatus of four hundred years. His ministry was distinctly eschatological and revolutionary. It appealed to the populace, but found little favour with the authorities.[6] The examples of his preaching given us by the Synoptists,[7] even though somewhat inconsistent with each other, and Josephus,[8] show his uncompromising abruptness and temerity. His imprisonment and death were the result of what to-day would be called *lese-majesty*. Certainly it was

[1] *Ant.* xviii. 5, 2.
[2] Mark i. 5, "all the Judean country and all the Jerusalemites."
[3] John i. 19 f.; iii. 22 f.; Acts xix. 1 f.; cf. xviii. 25.
[4] Matt. xi. 11 = Luke vii. 28.
[5] Cf. Mark i. 15; John iv. 1. [6] Mark xi. 30–33.
[7] Matt. iii. 7–12 = Luke iii. 7–18.
[8] Cf. Foakes-Jackson and Lake, *Beginnings of Christianity*, 1920, vol. i, Pt. I. pp. 103 f.

more than the personal revenge of Herodias which cast him into prison and compassed his death. Josephus is very explicit :[1] "Herod feared his great persuasiveness with men, lest it should tend to some insurrection (for they seemed ready to do anything he advised), he considered it better to put him to death before anything untoward happened, rather than after a revolution broke out and he had become involved in its difficulties, then to regret it." So free a tongue as John's in a person so popular with the masses was obviously dangerous, and John paid the price usually exacted of those bold enough to denounce their rulers. That the grounds of his denunciation were ethical, not political, only made him the more unsafe. For the Jews were a people to whom religious and legal conformity were everything. Jesus had therefore a radical schoolmaster, an instructor who preached of judgment and wrath and unquenchable fire, and, indifferent to fear or favour, included soldiers, people, teachers and rulers impartially in his arraignment.

However great was Jesus' indebtedness to John, His personal Messianic consciousness made His own task distinct.[2] Though there was a certain intercourse of disciples between them,[3] it is doubtful if the movements of the two inaugurated were ever identical.[4] The persistence of John's followers even after Jesus' death shows that the work of Christ did not naturally absorb and terminate that of John. We may conclude therefore that from the beginning they were largely distinct.[5]

[1] *Ant.* xviii. 5, 2. [2] Matt. xi. 2–15 = Luke vii. 18–35.
[3] John i. 35 f. [4] Mark ii. 18 f.
[5] The Synoptists seem to date the beginning of Jesus' ministry after the imprisonment of John (Mark i. 14 = Matt. iv. 12 ; cf. Luke iii. 19), and the Fourth Gospel implies the earlier work it

All of this emphasizes the originality of Jesus. In general He sympathized with John. He recognized and sanctioned John's work. His proclamation of the nearness of the Kingdom He had first from John. Possibly John's assurance of the Messiah's immediate manifestation was the earliest intimation to Jesus that He was the one anointed of God for this task. The social implications of the Kingdom He even more keenly realized. But He may have been aided in this realization by the suggestions of John's preaching, to which at least Luke's Gospel bears evidence.[1] The certainty of ultimate collision with the authorities Jesus seems early to have appreciated. Perhaps John's death helped to teach Him that lesson. Nevertheless, He went His own road, distinct and separate from the Baptist. Jesus characterizes their approaches to their generation as the extremity of contrast. John's was that of the uncompromising ascetic; Jesus' that of a man to whom no human interest was indifferent, no social relationship but was sacred.[2] Their whole concepts of the Kingdom and the Messiah's task were different.[3] Jesus was not afraid to disagree with the man He admired most and to point out where he was wrong, indicating gently but unmistakably that he had misread the prophets and misunderstood the Messiah they depicted. Even in His greatest confessed dependence, therefore, Jesus was original, and to the man who had once been His instructor in Messianism, He became at last a teacher.

describes could not have been in conjunction with John (John iv. 1 f.).

[1] Luke iii. 10–14. [2] Luke vii. 31–35.

[3] Cf. Mark i. 7, 8 = Matt. iii. 11, 12 = Luke iii. 15–18, and Matt. xi. 2–6 = Luke vii. 18–23.

The contemporary group with which, after John's, Jesus had most in common was the Pharisees. It is recognized to-day that the New Testament gives a rather one-sided view of them. It stresses their outstanding failings of pride, hypocrisy and hair-splitting casuistry, but we know that these were far from being universally characteristic, and that the party included some of the most praiseworthy and genuinely religious elements of contemporary Judaism.[1] Recent opinion seems to justify also the view that they represented the more progressive and democratic tendencies of their people.[2]

The Pharisees and Sadducees are first heard of during the reign of John Hyrkanus (135–105 B.C.). Their differences do not correspond to those which ordinarily divide parties to-day in Western Europe and America. Their separation was not primarily based on political opinion or governmental policy.[3] Religious and social considerations were much more determining. The Pharisees voiced the vital religious convictions and aspirations of the people. The Sadducees represented the more conservative and rigorous priestly nobility. It is possible that the first generation of the Hasmoneans, the Maccabean brothers themselves, were able to rally both elements to their support. The popular cause of religious freedom and the patriotic and personal interests

[1] Of this the New Testament itself gives a notable example in Gamaliel and his conduct, described in Acts v. 34–39.

[2] Leszynsky, *Die Sadducäer*, 1912, pp. 26, 101 f., 134 f. R. T. Herford, *Pharisaism, Its Aim and Its Methods*, 1912, p. 43. Geo. F. Moore, *Harvard Theol. Rev.*, vol. iv. pp. 330 f. (July 1911). Foakes-Jackson and Lake, *Beginnings of Christianity*, 1920, vol. i. Pt. I, pp. 112, 136. K. Köhler, *Jewish Encyclopedia*, ix. pp. 661 f C. G. Montefiore, *The Religious Teachings of Jesus*, 1910, pp. 30 f.

[3] Cf. Wellhausen, *Die Pharisaer und die Sadducäer*, 1874, Schürer, *Geschichte des jüd. Volkes*, 4th, 1907, ii. p. 456.

of the priestly nobility were at first sufficiently identical to ensure a united front against their Syrian oppressors. But after John Hyrkanus had grown in wealth and power, and it became a question whether his political aspirations had not come to predominate over his religious convictions, certain of the Pharisees demanded "he should renounce the high-priesthood and content himself with the civil government of the people." [1] This brings the two parties to recognition and their differences into political importance. Hyrkanus, who had hitherto favoured the Pharisees, now went over to the Sadducees, and in consequence the Pharisees became the traditional enemies of the Hasmonean house. Not until the reign of Queen Alexandra were the tables reversed and the Pharisees came again into power. From this time on they maintained their predominance, and the Hasmoneans retained the high-priestly throne, and the priests the leadership of the Sanhedrin under the Romans, only through conformity to the Pharisees' wishes. Josephus expressly says the latter enjoyed the favour of the majority of the people, and they were able even to prescribe ordinances for the conduct of the Temple sacrifices, a domain which one might suppose would belong especially to the priestly prerogatives.[2]

The most characteristic feature of the Pharisees was their development of the traditional or oral law. Experience proved the practical impossibility of a literal and unmitigated application of the Mosaic code. There had gathered around it, therefore, a great accretion of traditions and interpretations, which, though retaining the legalistic principle characteristic of all late Judaism,

[1] Jos. *Ant.* xiii. 10, 5. The particular occasion described by Josephus contains doubtless legendary elements.

[2] Jos. *Ant.* xviii. 1, 3.

tended to make the law practically tolerable. The Sadducees, on the other hand, rejected this oral law entirely, and held that only that which was written was obligatory.[1]

Another chief point of difference was the question of the resurrection, and the Messianic hope to which it was contributory The Pharisees taught the bodily resurrection of the dead, as a necessary postulate to participation in the glories of the Messianic age. They expected also a Messiah who should be a prince of the House of David, and the Psalms of Solomon, which emanated from Pharisaic circles a little after the time of Pompey (63–48 B.C.), describe in glowing colours the advent of such a prince and the marvellous blessings of his reign.[2] The Sadducees, on the contrary, denied the resurrection categorically,[3] and were apparently either contented with the reigning Hasmonean priest-king or expected a Messiah of priestly descent.[4]

Galilee was a stronghold of the Pharisees, and among them Jesus grew up. Zacharias [5] and Elizabeth, Simeon and Anna, perhaps also Joseph and Mary, were probably adherents of this party. Jesus in general agreed with their beliefs. He loved and studied the Law, but interpreted it with even greater freedom than the Pharisees. Like their teachers, He was called Rabbi. He defended the doctrine of immortality and taught

[1] Jos. *Ant.* xiii. 10, 6.

[2] Cf. especially Psalm xvii, the most extensive and systematic description of the Messianic rule anywhere preserved in Jewish apocalyptic literature, cf. Volz, *Jüdische Eschatologie*, p. 199, 1903.

[3] Mark xii. 18 ; Matt. xxii. 23 ; Luke xx. 27 ; Acts 23. 8 ; cf. iv. 1–2 ; Jos. *Ant.* xviii. 1, 4 ; *Bell. Jud.* ii. 8, 14.

[4] Cf. Leszynsky, *Die Sadducäer*, 1912, pp. 94 f.

[5] This is clear from the Benedictus, Luke i. 68–79. were sometimes Pharisees ; cf. Josephus himself, vita, 1, 2.Priests

the resurrection.[1] He believed in the existence of angels, and demons.[2] He recognized prayer, fasting and almsgiving as normal expressions of the religious life.[3] He even acknowledged the Scribes and Pharisees as the followers and representatives of Moses and recommended in general obedience to their commands—it was only their example to which He took exception. "The Scribes and the Pharisees sit on Moses' seat: all things therefore whatsoever they bid you, these do and observe; but do not ye after their works; for they say and do not."[4] This recommendation of obedience must of course be taken as a generality. His own conduct, as we shall see, was far from expressing implicit obedience, but the words evidently indicate a general agreement with the Pharisaic point of view. They, on their part, frequently entertained Him in their homes,[5] and warned Him beforehand of Herod's desire to kill Him: "In that very hour there came certain Pharisees, saying to Him, get Thee out, and go hence: for Herod would fain kill Thee."[6] What their motive was we are uninformed.

Yet all this general similarity of background with the Pharisees serves to emphasize Jesus' difference from them. Though undoubtedly Jesus issued from Pharisaic Judaism, the Gospels are right in presenting Him as characteristically in contrast to it.[7] His ministry

[1] Mark xii. 18 f. and parallels.
[2] Matt. xiii. 49; x. 8; cf. Acts xxiii. 8.
[3] Matt. vi. 2–18. [4] Matt. xxiii. 2, 3.
[5] Luke vii. 36; xi. 37; xiv. 1. [6] Luke xiii. 31.
[7] Mark ii. 1–iii. 30; vii. 1 f.; viii. 11 f.; x. 2 f.; xii. 13 f.; Matt. xxiii. 1–36 = Luke xx. 45–47; cf. Luke xi. 39–52.

Subsequent controversy between Pharisaic Judaism and the Church is not an adequate explanation of the prominence and frequency of these clashes between Jesus and the Pharisees. It heightened doubtless the colours, but did not originate these pictures.

is marked by a more or less constant protest against the inconsistencies and abuses of the Pharisaic religion. In a real sense it was these limitations and inconsistencies of Pharisaism, the predominant type of religion in His day, which summoned Jesus to denunciation and reform.

Nevertheless Jesus must not be understood simply as a reformer of detailed abuses in Pharisaism. The most striking thing about Him to His contemporaries was that He "taught with authority and not as the scribes." [1] Their method was not spontaneous and original. They appealed to previous authorities at every point. Their most characteristic tenet was that they possessed an authoritative oral law which had been given them by tradition to supplement and explain the Mosaic code. This Jesus did not appeal to or accept. On the contrary, He charged the Pharisees with nullifying the Law through this tradition.[2] And He spoke without citing authorities outside the Old Testament.

This was a most revolutionary proceeding, for scribal tradition was little distinguished by the Pharisees from the Law itself, and was regarded as of equal or even greater authority. Much of it was attributed to Moses. Jehovah's words in Exodus xxiv. 12, "Come up to me into the mount, and be there: and I will give thee the tables of stone, and the law and the commandment which I have written, that thou mayest teach them," were interpreted to make the "tables of stone" refer to the Decalogue, "the law" to the Pentateuch, "the commandment" to the Mishna, "which I have written" to the prophets and Hagiographa (Psalms, etc.), and

They belong to all periods of Jesus' life and are found in both our earliest sources.

[1] Mark i. 22, 27; Matt. vii. 29; Luke iv. 32.

[2] Mark vii. 8–13; Matt. xv. 2–9.

"that thou mayest teach them" to the Talmud—so that all the Old Testament and all their tradition was supposed to have been given by God to Moses, and communicated by him to Israel partly in written, partly in oral, form.[1] It was even regarded as more flagrant to teach what was contrary to the ordinances of the Scribes than what was contrary to the Torah, that is the Mosaic Law, itself.[2] And a saying is attributed to Rabbi Eleasar of Modine, that "Whoever interprets the Scripture contrary to tradition has no part in the world to come." [3]

For Jesus to reject this oral tradition was therefore to break with Pharisaism, and involved a complete rupture with the prevailing conceptions of religion. The Jews assumed that the Law of Moses was the complete and perfect embodiment of God's will for men. That it was as divine and immutable as God Himself, and that man's chief end of existence was its fulfilment. This resulted in a painful and punctilious literalness, which really made necessary the interpretative explanations and applications of the Oral Tradition to render the written Law at all practicable. Precedents for the interpretation of the Law were of course logically necessary. The complications involved in the more strictly agricultural and urban life of the later times required explanations and modifications to make the older statutes tolerable at all. Where the perversion

[1] Berakhoth 5A. The Berakhoth "Benedictions" is the title of the opening tractate of the first order, named Zeraim or "Seed," of the Mishna, which contains the oldest strata of this oral law which has come down to us. An easily accessible account of the origin and nature of this oral law is found in the article on the "Talmud" in Hastings' *Bible Dictionary*, vol. v. pp. 57 f. by Solomon Schechter. Full bibliography in Schürer, *Geschichte des iud. Volkes*, 4th, 1901, vol. i. pp. 128 f.

[2] Sanhedrin xi. 3. [3] Aboth iii. 11.

of the Pharisees lay was in their legalistic view of religion in general, shared by most Jews of the period, which led to a slavish literalism, and in their arbitrary and casuistical interpretations, which often annulled or evaded the Law's original intention.

Renouncing this legalistic conception entirely, Jesus found in the Prophets, and even in the Law, certain great religious principles which He saw were universal. "For I desire goodness (kindness, R.V. mg.) and not sacrifice; and the knowledge of God more than burnt offerings"[1] put social morality and spiritual religion above the outward observance of written law. The requirement "to do justice and love mercy and walk humbly"[2] made ridiculous a religion which consisted chiefly in tithing "mint, anise and cummin." To love God with all the heart, and one's neighbour as one's self,[3] had been recognized before as fundamental commandments,[4] but Jesus was the first to see that the consistent acceptance of them would make much of the current morality immoral and its religion blasphemy. He was not alarmed then because these principles conflicted with Pharisaic tradition, nor even when they were inconsistent with passages in the Mosaic Law. He did not ignore or explain away these conflicts as did His contemporaries.[5] He fearlessly exalted the principle above the letter. He esteemed the inner attitude of more importance than outer conformity, and enthroned the principle as the ultimate authority. This greatly simplified the problem of morality, but it

[1] Hos. vi. 6; cf. Matt. ix. 13; xii. 7.

[2] Cf. Matt. xxiii. 23 and Micah vi. 8.

[3] Deut. vi. 5; Lev. xix. 18; cf. Mark xii. 29 f. and parallels, especially Luke x. 30 f.

[4] Mark xii. 32 f.

[5] Cf. Montefiore, *The Religious Teaching of Jesus*, 1910, p. 40.

involved an abandonment of the entire legalistic conception of religion, contradicted much of the accepted oral tradition, and brought Jesus into open hostility with the Pharisees.

It was in the matter of Sabbath observance that Jesus had with them His most frequent encounters. Seven instances are recorded in the Gospels in which Jesus performed cures on the Sabbath day.[1] Such acts were permissible according to Jewish tradition only when there was immediate danger of death. Jesus defended His indiscriminate cures on humanitarian grounds. Man was more important than any institution, however sacred. But the sabbath was an institution particularly intended for man's good.[2] It could not be observed therefore to his detriment. The mere satisfaction of human hunger justified the plucking and rubbing of grain on the Sabbath, even though Jewish oral tradition regarded this as reaping and threshing and therefore unlawful.[3] The incident shows Jesus had already made His attitude clear to His disciples, and had led them to take His own liberal view. He disobeyed explicitly the oral tradition, but it is improbable that He regarded His conduct as transgressing the Law itself. What He doubtless felt He was doing was to demand a spiritual instead of a formal observance of the Sabbath, and Isaiah

[1] Mark i. 21 f. = Luke iv. 33 f.; Mark i. 29 f. = Matt. viii. 14 f. = Luke iv. 38 f.; Mark ii. 23 f. = Matt. xii. 1 f. = Luke vi. 1 f.; Mark iii. 1 f. = Matt. xii. 9 f. = Luke vi. 6 f.; Luke xiii. 10 f.; Luke xiv. 1 f.; John v. 8 f.

[2] The revolutionary procedure of Jesus here in ignoring the statements of Exodus, that the Sabbath was intended as a commemoration of the rest of God, and in making it an institution for the benefit of man, is emphasized by Foake-Jackson and Lake, *The Beginnings of Christianity*, 1920, vol. i, Pt. I. p. 292.

[3] Mark ii. 23 f. = Matt. xii. 1 f. = Luke vi. 1 f.

and Hosea had long ago done this.[1] Nevertheless the spirit of His argument[2] indicates His unconventionality and breadth of view. His allusion to David's eating the shewbread is an appeal to the exception rather than the rule of precedent. The David whom He cited was a "non-conformist"!

To the Pharisees this treatment of the Sabbath was not merely revolutionary: it was positively subversive. It unconditionally rejected their authoritative tradition. That offence was serious enough; but it was not unprecedented. The Sadducees also rejected oral tradition. But Jesus seemed by His example of David's inconsistency to countenance overt lawlessness. Any hungry person might prepare and eat what he pleased on the Sabbath. His continual healings of the sick were a standing affront; and especially dangerous because their humanitarian results made their transgression the more plausible. The common people would soon be repudiating the Sabbath altogether, reaping grain, kindling fires, cooking and carrying food, and who knows what other preposterous and unlawful thing. Consequently, after His healing of the man with the withered hand in the synagogue, they "went out, and straightway with the Herodians took counsel against Him, how they might destroy Him."[3] They felt that nothing short of the extreme penalty was adequate for so dangerous an offender.

Another point of conflict with the Pharisees was Jesus' unconcerned contact with common people and tax-gatherers.[4] A sharp distinction was drawn between

[1] Cf. Isaiah i. 13–17; Hos. ii. 11.

[2] Mark ii. 23 f. [3] Mark iii. 6.

[4] Erroneously confused with the Roman *publicani* and so translated "publicans" in the New Testament. They were rather the numerous small Jewish concessionaires who collected each his own

those who were students of the Law and scrupulous about paying tithes, observing washings before meals and other similar regulations, and the ordinary people, who were unlearned, and therefore presumably careless of these matters. The latter were regarded as unclean, and their very touch contaminating. They were contemptuously called "am ha-aretz," or "people of the earth." The more educated Jews organized themselves into an association who were pledged to keep themselves ceremonially pure, and to separate with scrupulous care all tithes given to priests and Levites, observe the Sabbatical year, and so forth. These recognized each other as "fellows" or "associates" (*haberim*), but avoided all intimate social relations (as eating together) with the common people. Even commercial intercourse with them was hedged about by rules of ceremonial procedure. The Mishna, for example, says that "whoever takes upon himself to be an associate (*haber*) sells to one of the common people (*am ha-aretz*) neither moist or dried fruit, buys from him no moist fruit, does not visit him as a guest, and does not receive him in his *garment* as a guest." [1]

Jesus and His disciples, as men untaught in the schools, would no doubt be regarded naturally as belonging to the *am ha-aretz*. But so soon as He assumed the rôle of teacher and presumed to speak authoritatively in matters of religion, it was to be

special tax (alone or in partnership with others) in one town or small district. They were therefore very numerous, and were hated not only because they often tried to extort more than the tariff assigned them, but because as agents of the hateful foreign usurper, they were regarded as traitors to Israel. Cf. Rostowzew, *Geschichte der Staatspacht u.s.w. Philologus*, suplbd. ix. 1904, pp. 475 f.; Ramsay, Hastings' *Bible Dictionary*, vol. v. pp. 394 f.

[1] Demai ii. 3.

expected He would observe these stricter rules, and it was noticed as surprising that "He ate and drank with publicans and sinners."[1] They could not understand how anyone could pose as a teacher and not be scrupulous about these matters of ceremonial purity. What could Jesus know about morals if in His own conduct He was so indifferent to defilement? Here He raised an important question in Jewish religion.

Jesus temporarily silenced His critics by saying, "They that are whole have no need of a physician, but they that are sick: I came not to call the righteous, but sinners."[2] The question was not settled, however, and recurred persistently. We may be thankful this was the case, for we owe to it the parables of the Lost Sheep, the Lost Coin and the Lost Son.[3] Jesus reveals in them the fundamental difference between His position and theirs. His doctrine of God was different. They regarded Him as an austere and punctilious judge; Jesus as a Father anxious for the redemption of His son. Still again the matter came up. This time no circumstances are recorded. But Jesus recited another matchless parable "to those who were confident that they were righteous and utterly despised the rest." The point was unmistakable, for the two classes are expressly named. "Two men went up into the temple to pray: the one a Pharisee, and the other a publican. The Pharisee stood and prayed thus with himself, God, I thank Thee that I am not as the rest of men, extortioners, unjust, adulterers, or even as this publican. I fast twice in the week; I give tithes of all that I get. But the publican, standing afar off, would not lift up so much as his eyes unto heaven, but smote his heart,

[1] Mark ii. 16 = Matt. ix. 12 = Luke v. 30.
[2] Mark ii. 17; cf. Luke xix. 9, 10. [3] Luke xv.

saying, God, be Thou merciful to me a sinner. I say unto you, this man went down to his house justified rather than the other." [1] Every phrase is significant of this controversy. The irony is scathing, the logic relentless. The Pharisee's thanksgiving, that he fasted twice in the week and gave tithes "of all that he got," are examples of these minor moralities whose observance gave the Pharisees such a sense of religious superiority. As Plummer notes: "There is no prayer, even in form; he asks God for nothing—it is self-congratulation. He glances at God, but contemplates himself. Indeed, he almost pities God, who but for himself would be destitute of faithful servants." [2] Jesus holds up the Pharisee's pride to pitiless scorn, and in the same breath signalizes the repentance of the publican. Both are the explanation of His mission to the social outcasts.

But all these apologies and excoriations did not settle the difficulty. His opponents pressed Him with more personal accusations. They could see how He might perhaps go among sinners with the benevolent purpose of their salvation, but was not Jesus Himself like them unclean, because He neglected the weekly fasts and the ceremonial washings prescribed by the oral law? [3] The importance with which these washings were regarded may be inferred from the fact that of the six books of the Mishna the longest [4] is devoted to them, and that the first tractate,[5] containing thirty chapters, concerns the purification of utensils alone. But both these issues involve also Jesus' attitude to the Mosaic

[1] Luke xviii. 9–14.

[2] *Intn. Critical Commentary, Gospel according to Luke,* 1896, p. 417.

[3] Mark ii. 18 f.; Mark vii. 1 f. = Matt. xv. 1 f.; cf. Luke xi. 37.

[4] Toharoth or "Purifications."

[5] Kelim or "Vessels."

Law itself. Their appropriate discussion belongs therefore to the next chapter.

Enough has been said to show Jesus' conscious freedom from conventionality and precedent. Though He had much in common with the Pharisees, and recognized them as the official interpreters of the Law, Jesus was not a Pharisee. He owed them much and came forth from their circle. The background of His thinking was apocalyptic, and apocalyptic was cultivated by the Pharisees. They looked for a catastrophic establishment of the Kingdom of God. They cherished the hope of a Messiah, though they interpreted His mission in very nationalistic terms. They stood for the progressive and vital in contemporary religion, in so far as there was anything progressive and vital in the Judaism of the period. But it was just here that Jesus outdistanced them. He was more progressive and vital than they. He realized their legalism was deadening, their formalism and casuistry destructive of all truly spontaneous and genuine relations with God. But they were the recognized exponents of religion among the people, their accepted teachers in divine things. Therefore Jesus was compelled to oppose them. However, they left Him no alternative. They attacked Him first. They defended their old legalism. In their eyes His teaching was revolutionary. To their frightened conventionality it was dangerous radicalism. So He carried the war into their own country: He denounced them. With withering scorn He pointed out their insincerity, their love of recognition, their perverted zeal. He poured His contempt and ridicule on the hair-splitting subtilities by which they evaded the spirit though observing the letter of the commandment. Pitilessly He tore away their sham and affectation and exposed the corruption,

the selfishness, the hypocrisy that lay beneath. To the modern Jew His words seem exaggerations. An injustice to the most constructive elements in His religious environment. But they only reveal the degree of His own progressiveness, the unshadowed clarity of His thinking, the uncompromising audacity of His conviction. The exalted ideal of morality He maintained required that He expose the hollowness of the accepted examples of sainthood. Jesus was compelled to show that in spirit and example the Pharisees were unworthy.[1] His words have burned their way into our vocabulary. "Pharisee" to-day is equivalent to "hypocrite." The very phrase remains a monument to Jesus' revolt against the dominant party of His day.

Josephus mentions another party closely related to the Pharisees which, in accordance with his usual Hellenizing tendency in describing the Jewish sects, he calls their "fourth philosophy." Of these he says, Judas, the Galilean, was the founder, and adds that "its adherents agree in all other respects with the opinion of the Pharisees, but have an unconquerable love of freedom and accept God as their only leader and lord."[2] This faction it has been common usage to identify with the "Zealots" mentioned by Josephus in his *Jewish Wars*.[3] There they are precisely designated as the followers of John of Gischala, who in the rebellion against Rome (A.D. 66–73) escaped from Gischala to Jerusalem and aroused the fanatical common people to oppose the more moderate faction of the priests. Professor Kirsop Lake has recently[4]

[1] Matt. xxiii. 1 f.; Luke xi. 39 f.; cf. Mark xii. 38 f.; Luke xx. 45 f.
[2] *Ant.* xviii. 1, 5. [3] *Bell. Jud*, iii. 3, 9 f.; iv. 3 and 7; vii. 8, 1.
[4] *The Stewardship of Faith*, 1915, p. 43, and especially Foakes-Jackson and Lake, *Beginnings of Christianity*, vol. i. Pt. I. pp. 421 f. Appendix A, "The Zealots."

questioned this identification, and it is altogether possible that we should abandon the name "Zealot" as a general designation of the revolutionary section of the Pharisees who in the time of Christ advocated direct action against the Romans. In that case we shall also have to explain the title "Zealot" assigned to Simon the disciple of Jesus [1] in its generic sense of "zealous," and have no longer the right to infer that in the very inner circle of Jesus' followers there was present a member of this revolutionary party.

Nevertheless, it is very clear from Josephus that such a revolutionary party existed, that it began with Judas the Galilean as early as the disturbances following the death of Herod the Great (4 B.C.), and that it was of sufficient importance and historic continuity to be designated as a "fourth philosophy" along with the Pharisees, Sadducees and Essenes. The distinguishing mark of this faction was their unconquerable love of liberty and their acceptance of God alone as their king. In other points they agreed with the Pharisees. We may certainly conclude, therefore, that there was a well-known group of Pharisees who more or less openly advocated revolution against their foreign oppressors, and that Jesus must have had to determine what should be His attitude toward them. This problem is central in our discussion and crucial in one's estimate of Jesus' revolutionary position; but if these references to Simon "the Zealot" are disallowed, we have no direct allusions to the faction in the New Testament. Historic connection between them and Jesus it is impossible to prove. But the question is not thereby settled, and must be discussed in connection with the larger one of Jesus'

[1] Luke vi. 15; Acts i. 13 f.; cf. the probably equivalent term "Cananæan"; Matt. x. 4; Mark iii. 18.

attitude toward Rome, to which we shall devote a subsequent chapter.

Concerning the second sect in importance at this time, the Sadducees, there has prevailed for over fifty years a serious misunderstanding. It was supposed they represented the more liberal element of Judaism; that they were less rigid and literal than the Pharisees; more inclined to view with tolerance Hellenic culture and religion; and were the representatives of a permanent tendency in Judaism to the assimilation of foreign ideas. Other illustrations of this tendency are supposed to be found in the worshippers of Baal, the Samaritans, the Hellenists, modern Reformed Judaism, and Christianity itself.

The publication by Schechter of *Fragments of a Zadokite Work*, in 1910,[1] and the study it inspired have made this view no longer tenable. Though the "Covenanters of Damascus" described in Schechter's document are probably not to be identified with the Sadducees, or perhaps any other Jewish sect now known to us, yet they represent, along with the Sadducees, Dosethians, Karaites, and other strict Jewish sectaries, a common tendency.[2] A new reading of Josephus and the New Testament in the light of this discovery has led to the conviction that, instead of being liberals, the Sadducees were rigid literalists, and disallowed the Pharisaic oral law, just because they permitted no deviation from the letter of the Torah. We have to do, therefore, with the conservatives rather than the liberals of Judaism, and the relation of the two parties

[1] Schechter, *Documents of Jewish Sectaries*, vol. i, Cambridge, 1910.

[2] Cf. especially G. F. Moore, *Harvard Theol. Rev.*, vol. iv. p. 358 (July 1911).

is to a considerable degree reversed from what it was in the common opinion of former years.[1]

Josephus states the Sadducees were rich aristocrats, who constituted the minority of the nation and exercised official authority only by concessions to the policies of the Pharisees.[2] They rejected the oral law, denied the existence of Fate, of immortality, and of rewards and punishments in another world; they were severe, however, in their infliction of punishments in this, and their intercourse with each other was often wild and harsh.[3] The picture in Josephus is somewhat inconsistent, but in general confirms the view that they were conservatives, accepting only the earlier doctrines of Judaism, and, with rigid severity toward even their fellow members, insisting on the literal observance of the Mosaic Law. The New Testament is in general harmony with this, telling us that they denied the resurrection[4] and the existence of angel and spirit.[5] Individual resurrection is well known to be a late doctrine in Hebrew thought,[6] first appearing in Daniel,[7] and the more elaborate Jewish angelology and demonology dates from the Persian period.

Jesus' only encounter with the Sadducees mentioned by Mark[8] was their question concerning Leverite marriage and the resurrection during the last week of His life. His sharp opposition to them on the fundamental questions of the resurrection and immortality is the outstanding fact of the incident. They came,

[1] Cf. Leszynsky, *Die Sadducäer*, 1912.
[2] *Ant.* xiii. 10, 6; xviii. 1, 4.
[3] *Bell. Jud.*, ii. 8, 14; *Ant.* xiii. 10, 6.
[4] Mark xii. 18 = Matt. xxii. 23 = Luke xx. 27; Acts xxiii. 8.
[5] Acts xxiii. 8. [6] 2 Mac. vii. 9 f. [7] Cf. Dan. xii. 2.
[8] Mark xii. 18–27, who is followed by the other Synoptists, Matt. xxii. 23 f.; Luke xx. 27 f.

like the others on that "day of conflict," to discomfit Him if possible, but He had read the Scriptures for Himself and had done His own thinking. With characteristic originality He infers from the words of Jehovah to Moses [1] the immortality of the dead, and far transcends His Jewish contemporaries by asserting the complete spirituality of the resurrected in contrast to the current speculation which ascribed to them material bodies and miraculous fertility.[2]

On three other occasions Matthew associates the Sadducees with the Pharisees—when they come to hear John the Baptist's preaching,[3] to ask Jesus for a sign from heaven,[4] and in Jesus' warning against the leaven of their teaching.[5] In all these instances they are omitted in the parallel passages of Mark and Luke, and their inclusion is very doubtful. Matthew evidently indiscriminately reckoned them among Jesus' opponents during His ministry, and inserted a reference to them into his sources. But their preoccupation with the Temple and political affairs probably rendered Him beneath their notice until the close of His life. Only at the cleansing of the Temple did He force Himself upon their attention. Their connection with the priestly aristocracy would make this interference particularly offensive to them, and we are told that "the chief priests and scribes" from this time "sought how they might destroy Him." [6] These "chief priests" were undoubtedly Sadducees.

Jesus had in common with this sect the rejection of

[1] Exod. iii. 6.
[2] Cf. Volz, *Jüdische Eschatologie*, 1903, pp. 351 f.
[3] Matt. iii. 7; cf. Luke iii. 7.
[4] Matt. xvi. 1; cf. Mark viii. 11.
[5] Matt. xvi. 6; cf. Mark viii. 15. [6] Mark xi. 18.

the oral law. But He did not reject it because of a literal insistence on the Mosaic commandments as did the Sadducees. On the contrary, He outstripped even the Pharisees in His liberalism. The latter still halted in appeals to the past. The oral law was an authoritative interpretation of the Mosaic code, established on traditional deliverances by the Rabbins. Here the Pharisees rested their case. Jesus broke with both the letter and this dogmatic precedent. He spoke "with authority." His disregard for the letter and His emphasis on the principle separate Him wholly from the Sadducean point of view.[1] Of the two main sects of His day Jesus had much more in common with the Pharisees than the Sadducees, but He belonged to neither. He remained Himself.

We have references on two occasions in the New Testament to a party called the Herodians.[2] The exact term does not occur in Josephus, but the partisans of Herod the Great appear there under similar designations.[3] This makes it probable the Herodians were purely political in origin, and represented the group among the Jews who were the supporters of the Herodian dynasty. In view of their political character they may have included persons affiliated with various religious sects, but their contrast with the Pharisees in the New Testament passages has led to their being regarded as belonging predominantly to the Sadducees.[4] This harmonizes also with the known aristocratic tendencies of the latter sect.

[1] Leszynsky's effort to identify Him with them (*Sadducäer*, pp. 281 f.) arises out of a misunderstanding of Jesus and an arbitrary treatment of the Gospels.

[2] Mark iii. 6; Mark xii. 13 = Matt. xxii. 16.

[3] *Bell. Jud.*, i. 16, 6; *Ant.* xiv. 15, 10.

[4] Cf. Zahn, *Com. Mt.* 1903, p. 528; Armstrong, Hastings' *Dictionary of Christ and the Gospels*, vol. i. p. 723.

Twice we are told they joined with the Pharisees in opposition to Jesus, though in both cases it appears the Pharisees were the aggressors. The latter's objections to Jesus were religious. The Herodians, it seems, were drawn in through their fear of any popular movement which might endanger their own political security, and because the Pharisees doubtless felt the need of friends at court to help them compass Jesus' downfall. In neither instance does their conspiracy against Him intimidate Jesus. He goes on unconcernedly performing His miracles after the healing of the man in the synagogue with the withered hand, which was the occasion of the first coalition between them.[1] With consummate skill He avoids the trap they set for Him together on the second occasion, when they ask Him whether tribute to Cæsar is lawful or not.[2] He was not afraid of these Herodians because He was not afraid of Herod Antipas himself. Herod was His royal master; but Jesus did not regard him as therefore the keeper of His conscience. He warns His disciples against "the leaven of Herod."[3] Though He retires from the limits of Herod's sovereignty after the death of John, probably from prudential reasons, He does not cease teaching His disciples nor performing His cures.[4] And as He departs from Galilee at last to go up to Jerusalem, He hurls back at Herod His parting defiance: "Go say to that fox, Behold, I cast out demons and perform cures to-day and to-morrow, and the third day I am perfected. Nevertheless I must go on my way to-day and to-morrow and the day following: for it cannot be that a prophet perish out of Jerusalem."[5] In spite of conspiring Herodians and

[1] Cf. Mark iii. 10 f.; v. 1 f., 21 f.
[2] Mark xii. 13–17.
[3] Mark viii. 15.
[4] Cf. Mark vii. 24–ix. 28.
[5] Luke xiii. 31, 32.

Herod Antipas bent on His death, Jesus preserved His calm determination and went forward on His appointed way. Another fate precluded His death at the hands of Herod. He had chosen an asylum where even the wiles of "that fox" would be unable to reach Him.

The Essenes are not mentioned in the New Testament, and the attempt to connect Jesus or John the Baptist with them has not been successful.[1] They were an esoteric, extremely ascetic, communistic group related to the Pharisees, but excelling them in their legalistic devotion to the Mosaic Law. Eclectic in tendency, they combined with Judaism certain Greek or Oriental speculations and observances. They can hardly have influenced Jesus nor He them. They throw no light on the origin or development of His characteristic doctrines and reveal nothing regarding His conservative or liberal attitude. They contribute nothing therefore to our discussion, and may be passed over with this allusion to them.

No words sum up this chapter better than Bousset's: "Jesus' entire life was oppressed by a sense of absolute contrast between Himself and His times."[2] His ideals were different from those which dominated the majority of His people, and He found no ready-made minority to which He could attach Himself. All contemporary parties failed Him. He had to lay His own foundations and to gather His own group about Him, and He and they were regarded as eccentrics, as strangely irrational and inconsistent for those who pretended to be religious men. "The Son of Man is come eating and drinking and ye say, 'Behold a gluttonous man and a wine

[1] Cf. Lightfoot, "Essenism and Christianity," in *St. Paul's Epistles to the Colossians and Philemon*, 1875, p. 394 f.

[2] *Jesu Predigt in ihrem Gegensatz zum Judentum*, 1892, p. 58

bibber, a friend of publicans and sinners.'" Here is His own graphic estimate of the verdict of His people. It reveals both their judgment and hostility, and His own consciousness that they classed Him with the outcasts with whom He associated. He belonged neither with John nor with conventional contemporary Judaism. None of its partisan factions satisfied Him. And they were even less cordially disposed toward Him. John had doubts about His Messianic orthodoxy. The rest pronounced Him entirely heterodox and unreservedly repudiated Him. They hinted He belonged with the careless gluttons He made His companions. Evidently they felt He had no sense for either morals or religion, and since He presumed to teach them He must be summarily disposed of. But He was ready to pay the price of His convictions. He refused to submit His conscience to their accepted external authorities. He made no compromise in order to be "practical." God, and God alone, was the chosen Master of His Soul.

## CHAPTER II

# JESUS AND THE MOSAIC LAW

It is an acute observation of Ritschl that the great controversy of the Apostolic Age over the permanent place of the Law in Christianity would never have arisen if Jesus had expressed any definite pronouncement on the subject.[1] One must admit that the conventional conclusion to which the Church came, that Jesus intended to enact a new law by the re-establishment of the *moral* requirements of the Mosaic code and the abrogation of the *ceremonial* was very far from being satisfactory. The distinction between moral and ceremonial belongs to later Christianity, and is nowhere drawn or even suggested in the Old or New Testaments. When Paul wrote of Christians as "not under law,"[2] he meant the moral "law" as well as the ceremonial, though of course he did not mean they were not under moral obligation. Had the Church found a less easy and more adequate solution of the problem, many subsequent errors of doctrine and practice would have been avoided.

We have therefore to approach our investigation of Jesus' relation to the Mosaic Law with a full apprehension of its difficulties. The problem is far from

[1] *Entstehung der altkatholischen Kirche*, 1857, p. 27.

[2] Gal. v. 18; Rom. vi. 14; cf. Rom. vii. 4, 6. That Paul includes the moral law, Rom. vii. 7, which quotes the Tenth Commandment, shows. Cf. also 2 Cor. iii. 7 f.

being simple, and its constant recurrence in one form or another all through the history of the Church proves it has never been adequately settled. We still grapple with it, and our conventional social programmes to-day show how little we have realized what is the Christian solution.

It should be noted at the outset that a distinction must be made between Jesus' attitudes toward the Law and towards the Old Testament in general. The latter was His Bible in the full sense of the word. Its language and incident were constantly on His lips. Next to nature it was His book of illustrations, the perpetual source from which He drew the sanctions and authentications of His words. From it He derived His conceptions of His mission, the stimulus and sustenance of His religious life. The Psalms, but especially Isaiah and the other prophets, were His favourites. But He had made the whole collection His study, including the Law, and in His temptation draws all His weapons, one after another, from the Book of Deuteronomy. In Gethsamane and on the cross He turns to the Psalms for refuge, and as He died their words are the last upon His lips. His thought evidently lived and moved in the realm of the Old Testament, and He found in it the authoritative revelation of His Father in heaven.

His attitude to the Mosaic Law, however, is a problem by itself. Its place, and that of any external code of morals, in religion was, and is, a vexed and crucial question. Part of its difficulty arises, as Ritschl observed, from the absence of any definite pronouncement of Jesus on the matter, but it proceeds also from a certain apparent inconsistency toward the Law noticeable in His words and conduct.

In the first place, there is much to imply that Jesus

observed the Mosaic Law Himself. He began attending the feasts at Jerusalem when He was twelve years old, and continued at intervals until His death, which occurred in the midst of the Passover celebration. According to the Fourth Gospel, He defied His enemies to convict Him of any sin.[1] He enjoined the cleansed leper to go and offer the sacrifices which Moses commanded.[2] He makes Abraham say of the brothers of Dives, "They have Moses and the prophets, let them hear them."[3] And when the rich young ruler asks Him the direct question, "What good thing shall I do that I may have eternal life?" Jesus replies, "If thou wouldest enter into life, keep the Commandments."[4] As we have already seen, it is improbable that He regarded His conduct on the Sabbath as breaking the Fourth Commandment, since He justifies His action out of the Mosaic Law and the other Old Testament Scriptures.[5] On the whole, it may be said that Jesus not only apparently kept the Law Himself, but commended it to others as a way of life.

And yet His action and teaching frequently are inconsistent with this. When He sent the leper to the priests in obedience to the Law, He had already touched him in defiance of it.[6] He does not shrink from the contaminating contact of the woman with the issue of blood,[7] nor from the dead body of the little

[1] John viii. 46.
[2] Mark i. 44 = Matt. viii. 4 = Luke v.14; cf. xvii. 14.
[3] Luke xvi. 29.
[4] Mark x. 19 = Matt. xix. 17, 18 = Luke xviii. 20; cf. Luke x. 25 f.
[5] Mark ii. 25 f. = Matt. xii. 5 = Luke vi. 1 f.; John vii. 22; Matt. xxiv. 20 may be due to the Evangelist.
[6] Mark i. 41 = Matt. viii. 3 = Luke v. 13; cf. Lev. xiii. 46.
[7] Mark v. 24 f. Cf. Lev. xv. 25.

daughter of Jairus.[1] He does not invoke the Law's penalty upon the woman taken in adultery, but sends her away to sin no more.[2] Here is manifest a sense of freedom from the Law in the face of great humanitarian principles. Like the Law of the Sabbath, the other Mosaic requirements were intended for man's benefit, not his injury, and could be broken in obedience to the general principle of love.

But these principles, Jesus saw, cut much deeper than an occasional violation of the letter. The controversy with the Pharisees over eating with unwashed hands and about clean and unclean meats[3] carried Jesus much farther than disregard or occasional verbal infringement of their tradition. His principle that the inward spiritual attitude is the determining factor in morality He applies here with unhesitating breadth and fearlessness. This new principle He did not invent. He expressly quotes Isaiah xxix. 13: "This people honoureth me with their lips, but their heart is far from me. But in vain do they worship me, teaching as their doctrines the commandments of men." He applies this directly to the oral law, but goes on to state the principle so broadly and explicitly as to nullify large sections of the Levitical code itself. "Hear me all of you and understand. There is nothing from without the man, that going into him can defile him; but the things that proceed out of the man are those that defile him." This solemn statement categorically contradicts Leviticus, chap. xi, and Deuteronomy, chap. xiv. It renders absurd not only the provisions as to clean and unclean meats, but also the legislation regarding impurity

[1] Mark v. 23, 41; cf. Num. xix. 11, 13.
[2] John viii. 11; cf. Lev. xx. 10.
[3] Mark vii. 1–23 = Matt. xv. 1–20.

found in Leviticus, chaps. ii–xv, and Numbers, chap. xix ; and that in spite of the fact that Numbers xix. 21 states that "it shall be a perpetual statute unto them." It matters little whether Jesus or the evangelist added the clause of verse 19, "making all meats clean." The contradiction of the Mosaic code is too obvious to escape any thoughtful Jew, much less Jesus Himself. That He intended the full conclusions of His words to be realized is implied by His introduction, "Hear all of you and *understand*." And this was no momentary enthusiasm on His part, but a settled conviction, repeatedly enunciated and applied.[1] What Jesus really does is to substitute an ethical conception of uncleanness for a ceremonial one. He lifts the whole question above the primitive, ritualistic stage of religious development in which the Law of Moses had left it, and elevates it to the level of universal morality.

On this point we can trust the Jewish consciousness of Professor Montefiore as to how revolutionary Jesus' enunciation of this principle was : "It seems the more probable that here too, in the stress and heat of conflict, Jesus—the spiritual successor of Amos and Isaiah—uttered a principle which was, on the one hand, as most of us would agree to-day, superbly true, and, on the other hand, was in direct violation of the letter and the implication of the Law. The conflict, we are told, arose on the question of washing the hands before meals. Jesus, as I have already mentioned, did not observe this comparatively recent regulation. He went on, however, in justifying His neglect, to lay down a principle of much greater range and sweep. The conflict started with a new Rabbinical regulation ; the *principle* included a whole number of ordinances in the Mosaic Law.

[1] Cf. Matt. xxiii. 25, 26.

Jesus said: 'Nothing outside a man, entering into him, can make him unclean; only the things which come out of a man—these are what make him unclean.' Whether Jesus had directly in view the distinction of foods mentioned in Leviticus is uncertain. It is improbable that He deliberately meant to say (as the compiler of Mark supposes), 'I formally abrogate the Mosaic ordinances about food; all you, my disciples, may freely eat pig and lobster and hare.' But the acute and trained Rabbis could easily see the significance and implication of the utterances. The Law had ordered that Israelites were not to defile themselves by eating certain animals, which are, it said, unclean to them, and are abomination. This was a matter over and above merely priestly or Levitical purity. Every Israelite for all time was to avoid eating rabbits and pigs, lobster and hares; to eat them defiled in a totally different sense from the touching of a dead mouse, which only affected the priest. To eat forbidden food was a direct violation of God's Law, and the defilement it caused affected all men alike, both priest and layman, at every season and in every place. But if Jesus' principle was true, then the Law was wrong. There was no material thing which was unclean, or could make a man unclean, in any religious sense. In the religious sense there is no uncleanness except sin. Nothing could defile a man religiously except his own consciously committed sin. It was a noble, a liberating utterance. When we remember the immense burden which material conceptions of clean and unclean had imposed upon humanity in earlier primitive religions; when we think of these conceptions in their relation not merely to food, but to the sexual life, or to intercourse between the members of one faith and race and the members of another; or when

we bear in mind the many troubles of the priesthoods and all the vanities of priestly purity—can we laud too highly, can we appreciate too gratefully the grand and prophetic principle that only that which comes out of a man can make him unclean? *Things* cannot defile *persons*. The spiritual personality can only be spiritually defiled." [1]

These are generous words by Professor Montefiore. They admit fully the radical implications of Jesus' principle. He doubts only whether Jesus saw them, but thinks the Rabbis were cleverer than He, and did. This we think is a little gratuitous. The Jew who said that "nothing which enters a man can defile him" could hardly have forgotten that the Mosaic Law forbad the eating of pork. Jesus must have been a far less acute religious teacher than we suppose Him if He did not fully appreciate the implications of His words.

Jesus' attitude toward fasting was similar. John's disciples and the Pharisees were fasting.[2] It was probably one of the occasional or weekly fasts prescribed by the Pharisees for Monday and Thursday.[3] They appealed to Jesus to know why His disciples ignored it. He replied, "Can the sons of the bride-chamber fast, while the bridegroom is with them?" The joys of the Messianic consummation were currently likened to the festivities of a wedding. Jesus implies they are already in progress, and therefore fasting is inappropriate. But other days shall come when tribulation and bereavement will demand different exhibitions of their temper. Then they would fast in those days. Jesus does not

[1] *Some Elements of the Religious Teaching of Jesus* (Jowett Lectures for 1910), pp. 47 f. Cf. also p. 44.

[2] Mark ii. 18 f. = Matt. ix. 14 f. = Luke v. 33 f.

[3] Cf. Luke xviii. 12.

denounce all fasting. He implies here, as more explicitly in Matt. vi. 16 f., "When ye fast, be not, as the hypocrites, of a sad countenance, etc.," that fasting may have permanent religious value, but not as a set and formal ordinance. No one can prescribe fasts for others. They must be the spontaneous expression of one's spiritual mood. The principle of inner attitude which Jesus had used in the previous instance He here again applies, and though He does not say so, it would affect even so important a fast as the Day of Atonement, which Leviticus xvi. 34 established as "an everlasting statute." "And this shall be an everlasting statute unto you, to make atonement for the children of Israel because of all their sins once in the year." And Leviticus xxiii. 29 further directs that "Whatsoever soul it be that shall not be afflicted in the same day, he shall be cut off from his people." So, by implication at least, Jesus deletes what was regarded as an important ordinance in the religion of His people.

Two significant similes or parables follow the discussion of fasting in all the Synoptic Gospels. They reveal unmistakably that Jesus saw how revolutionary this teaching was. "No man seweth a piece of undressed cloth on an old garment: else that which should fill it up taketh from it, the new from the old, and a worse rent is made. And no man putteth new wine into old wine-skins; else the wine will burst the skins, and the wine perisheth and the skins, but they put new wine into fresh wine-skins."[1] The exact references in these words have been much disputed. But it is clear that Jesus' general purpose is to sharply contrast the old teaching with His own. Probably He would say: you cannot accept the good news of the Kingdom and

[1] Mark ii. 21, 22.

then patch it with ordinances drawn from Judaism. You must take it as a whole. Its perfection will be mutilated if you piece it out with Jewish practices. And this is true because the content of the new cannot express itself adequately in the old forms. It must create new forms of its own. Fasting may still have a place, but the whole spirit of the new is different from the old. Joy, not sorrow, must be dominant among those who realize the Kingdom is really here.

These similes prove that Jesus interpreted His Messiahship as implying the establishment of a new order—a new order which was so different from the old that the two could not be combined. You had to make your choice between them. The new must supersede the old. That many would be unable to take so revolutionary a step He recognized. "No man having drunk old wine desireth new; for he saith the old is good." [1] Nevertheless, no middle ground was possible. He felt compelled to demand all or nothing. Even "the dead must be left to bury their own dead." [2]

Jesus' treatment of divorce [3] is among the most

[1] Luke v. 39. [2] Matt. viii. 22; Luke ix. 60.

[3] Mark x. 1–12 = Matt. xix. 1–12; Matt. v. 31, 32 = Luke xvi. 18. The evidence that the clauses "except for fornication" and "saving for the cause of fornication" of Matt. xix. 9 and v. 32 are editorial emendations is everwhelming.

(1) On the generally accepted solution of the Synoptic Problem, Matthew in the first passage is editing Mark. The clause inserting the exception is therefore wanting in the more original document.

(2) In the second passage, which probably comes from an independent source ("Q"), the exception is likewise absent from the parallel in Luke.

(3) Paul, in 1 Cor. vii. 10, 11, seems to be discussing such a saying of the Lord, but records no exception as valid ground for divorce.

(4) Matthew shows a general tendency to regard the Mosaic Law as permanent, and to add similar mollifying interpretations

illuminating of all His discussions, where the Mosaic Law is involved. The contemporary discussion into which He was drawn turned on the interpretation of Deuteronomy xxiv. 1–4, which begins: "When a man taketh a wife, and marrieth her, then it shall be, if she find no favour in his eyes, because he hath found some unseemly thing [literally, 'nakedness of a thing'] in her, that he shall write her a bill of divorcement, and give it in her hand, and send her out of his house." This dispute of the authorities over what constituted "an unseemly thing" the Mishna describes as follows: [1] "The school of Shammai says, 'No one shall divorce his wife unless there shall have been found in her some unchastity, since it is written, Because he hath found "the nakedness of a thing" in her'; the school of Hillel says, 'Even if she shall have burned his food in cooking, since it is written, Because he had found in her the "nakedness of a thing"'; Rabbi Akiba says, 'Even if he find another fairer than she, as it is written, If she find no favour in his eyes.'" Into this controversy Jesus plunges, but it is not to follow the lead of either Shammai or Hillel, nor is it to propound

to Jesus' radical sayings in conflict with it (cf. Allen, *Com. on Matt.*, pp. 167 and 203). Matthew's own account of the disciple's consternation: "If the case of the man is so with his wife, it is not expedient to marry" (verse 10), indicates a more unexpected assertion than the commonplace reiteration of Shammai's position, which would be all that is implied if the Matthean exception be original.

(5) Jesus' purpose was evidently to enunciate an ideal, not to legislate on marriage. But the Early Church soon construed His teaching as legislation. This led to a feeling that this saying was too severe, and required mitigation. That the problem then, however, was one of separation and not freedom to marry again, the Shepherd of Hermas (Mandate 4) shows (cf. Lake, *Expositor*, November 1910).

[1] Gittin ix. 10. Shammai and Hillel lived in the first century before Christ; Akiba died A.D. 133.

a new interpretation of His own. He calmly refuses to accept the Deuteronomic regulation itself. This was no ceremonial matter. Divorce is an ethical question. But Jesus saw that the ethics of Deuteronomy on this subject were on too low a plane. Here, as often, Jesus was on the side of the prophets. Hosea was taught in the parable of his own married life the compassion of Jehovah for Israel, His errant spouse. And Malachi [1] explains Jehovah's disregard of his hearer's offerings: "Because Jehovah hath been witness between thee and the wife of thy youth, against whom thou hast dealt treacherously, though she is thy companion, and the wife of thy covenant. . . . For I hate putting away, said Jehovah." However, Jesus refuted the Law out of the Pentateuch itself. The Law's own account of man's creation revealed a higher and diviner ideal for the relations of the sexes. The story of man's original creation in Genesis [2] mentioned but a single pair, who were created "male and female." "And the man said, This is now bone of my bones, and flesh of my flesh: she shall be called woman [feminine form of man], because she was taken out of man. Therefore shall a man leave his father and his mother, and shall cleave unto his wife: and they shall be one flesh." The essential unity of the two thus emphasized by Genesis showed that permanent monogamy was God's original intention, and Moses' regulation was a serious degradation of this ideal.

Jesus' explanation of Moses' action is not less significant. He says that it was due to Israel's hardness of heart. Moses' contemporaries could not appreciate the ideal of Genesis, and so Moses was forced to accommodate his law to their ethical immaturity. Here

[1] ii. 14, 16. [2] i. 27 and ii. 23, 24.

Jesus reveals a moral penetration surpassing not only His own time, but all time from His day to ours. His words involve a progressive revelation of God's will, conditioned by the moral apprehension and ability of the recipients. This is so revolutionary, it could not be understood before the days of Charles Darwin. But it is difficult to see how Jesus could have confined the application of this principle to divorce. If He saw Moses' legislation was inferior and imperfect at this point, why was it not so at other points? This was not the only particular in which Israel showed hardness of heart. Jesus, therefore, could not, like His contemporaries, have regarded the Mosaic Law as the perfect and infallible expression of the will of God. At certain points it reflected not the divine ideal for human conduct, but the stupidity and slowness of Israel's heart. Consequently He felt and exercised full liberty to criticize and supplement it where He thought it was inferior.

It is in Matthew's version of the Sermon on the Mount we have Jesus' most frank and explicit discussion of His relation to the Mosaic Law. Nevertheless, the passage is puzzling, and as it stands exhibits something of the apparent inconsistency which we have seen hangs over the Gospel accounts of Jesus' conduct. It is difficult to understand how Jesus could have said just what we find in the text of Matthew: "Think not that I come to destroy the law and the prophets. I came not to destroy but to fulfil. For verily I say unto you, Till heaven and earth pass away, one jot or one tittle shall in no wise pass from the law, till all things be accomplished." [1] His own treatment of fasting, clean and unclean meats and divorce certainly makes

[1] Matt. v. 17, 18.

the literal permanence of the Law, which is the obvious sense of the passage, impossible. Jesus could not have meant that the Mosaic Law is permanently valid down to the minutest letter. That would have been to stultify Himself when He felt free to abrogate the laws regarding meats and to condemn divorce. And yet the probabilities are against the verse being a Jewish-Christian interpolation. The parallel in Luke,[1] "It is easier for heaven and earth to pass away than for one tittle of the law to fall," coming in a context which implies the Law's end, makes it probable that Jesus made some such statement. The question is, What could He have meant by it?

The meaning of "fulfil" also cannot be simply to realize the types and prophecies and literally obey the behests of the Old Testament. Such a subordination is inconsistent with one "who spoke with authority and not as the scribes." A self-consciousness of this description would have made of Him a typical scribal Messiah, which emphatically He was not. Nor did He literally fulfil all the Old Testament Messianic prophecies. Those which foretell a military conqueror[2] He by no means accomplished in "jot and tittle." It was just because He did not fulfil these prophecies, and consciously refused to accept the current popular and Rabbinic Messianic conceptions, that they quarrelled with Him. It is obvious we must seek a deeper sense.

Before pursuing these inquiries further, it may be advisable to look at the larger context of the passage in the Sermon. We find it is the introductory statement to a large section running through the remainder of the chapter, all of which discusses Jesus' attitude toward

[1] Luke xvi. 17.

[2] E.g. Ps. ii. 8–12; Is. ix. 4, 5; xi. 4.

the Law. In fact, the verses on Jesus' fulfilling of the Law are a general statement which the following is intended to illustrate by six practical examples. First, His general position is affirmed, and then a detailed application of it is made to the Old Testament commandments regarding murder, adultery, divorce, oaths, retribution and love of enemies. An examination of these illustrations will make it much easier to understand what Jesus meant by verses 17–19.

We should note, first, that in each instance Jesus opposes a quotation from the Mosaic Law [1] with His own "but I say unto you." This must have struck many of His hearers as shameless effrontery. Who was He to set up His authority against Moses? Who would presume to improve on the divine and unimpeachable Torah, the pride and glory of Judaism? Not less impertinent than His forgiveness of sins [2] must have appeared Jesus' presumption in setting up His authority in opposition to the Law. But Jesus called no authority to witness save His own. He was not like the Scribes, who quoted Rabbi this and Rabbi that, and ultimately rested everything on the Torah itself. He made His appeal directly to men's consciences and their inner sense of truth, and usually left His assertions to demonstrate their own reality. Those "that had ears to hear" would understand and believe. As Herford [3] sums up this contrast: "The conflict was one between two fundamentally different conceptions of religion, viz. that in which the supreme authority

[1] Matt. v. 22, 28, 32, 34, 39, 44. That the phrase, "Ye have heard that it was said to them of old time," refers to Mosaic legislation, cf. Zahn, *Das Evangelium des Matthäus*, 1910, *in loco*.

[2] Mark ii. 7.

[3] *Pharisaism: Its Aim and Its Method* (1912), p. 167 f.

was Torah, and that in which the supreme authority was the immediate intuition of God in the individual soul and conscience. The Pharisees stood for one: Jesus stood for the other. . . . The conflict was unequal, because it was one in which an idea was matched against a person. The idea of Torah was sublime and deserved all the devoted loyalty that was given to its expression and defence. But it was an idea, mediated in the consciousness of those who held it: Jesus was a living soul with the spiritual force of a tremendous personality, and against Him the idea of Torah could not prevail. This was the real meaning of the fact that He taught "as one having authority and not as the scribes.'" [1]

The first two illustrations of Jesus' meaning in the Sermon are very suggestive. In them He contrasts His own teaching with the Sixth and Seventh Commandments of the Mosaic Decalogue. He does not annul or destroy them. He rather deepens and spiritualizes. Where they forbid the outward acts of murder and adultery, Jesus condemns the very thoughts whose logical realization in outward conduct would be murder or adultery. Far from imposing a more lenient standard, He surpasses the old law in the severity and comprehensiveness of

[1] This contrast is still recognized to-day by orthodox Jews, the successors of the Pharisees, as the fundamental obstacle in the way of modern Judaism's accepting Jesus. Achad Ha 'Am writing (*Jewish Review*, i. p. 210) of the tendency of certain Reformed Jews, e.g. Montefiore to regard the Gospels as a part of Judaism, and Jesus as a prophet—the greatest of the prophets—in Israel, says, "It matters not whether he be called 'son of God,' 'Messiah,' or 'Prophet,' Israel cannot accept with religious enthusiasm, as the word of God the utterances of a man who speaks in his own name—not 'thus saith the Lord,' but '*I*' say unto you. This 'I' is in itself sufficient to drive Judaism away from the Gospels forever." Cf. also Norman Bentwich, *Jewish Quarterly Review*, New Series, iii. p. 551 (1913).

His moral requirement. The Sixth and Seventh Commandments are not "destroyed"; they are "fulfilled."

The question of divorce we have already considered in connection with the fuller discussion of Mark x. 1–12; we may turn, therefore, to the fourth illustration regarding oaths.

The Old Testament provided for, or at least permitted, oaths. It forbade only their non-performance. It said, "Thou shalt not forswear thyself, but shalt perform unto the Lord thine oaths."[1] This also Jesus does not disannul. He does not set men free from the performance of their oaths. He goes much farther, but in the same direction as the Old Testament. He says in effect: Every promise is as binding as an oath; every assertion or denial as if God had been called to witness. The Third Commandment, recognizing the limited moral attainment of the time, assumed a double standard of truth. The very giving and taking of oaths implies this, in spite of the Ninth Commandment. The Third Commandment required only that when Jehovah's name was used it must not be used falsely.

But Jesus peremptorily abolishes oaths by making them unnecessary. If one's yea were always really yea, and one's nay nay, all occasion for calling on God to witness would be eliminated. Nor can there be any gradation in affirmations. To swear by any sacred thing is to swear by God, and because He made all all is sacred. Oaths, therefore, cannot be a part of the vocabulary of the children of the Kingdom. Here a Pentateuchal regulation is transcended by a new one. The old is not destroyed; it is made unnecessary. The end it was intended to attain, the maintenance of truth,

[1] Matt. v. 33; Lev. xix. 12; Exod. xx. 7; Deut. v. 11; Num. xxx. 2 f.; Deut. xxiii. 21 f.

by imperfect means, the Gospel principle attains directly. The Law is thus completed by the Gospel. Its imperfection is made perfection. A more drastic transformation of the old than in the first two examples is here illustrated by Jesus, but still the old is not destroyed, it is fulfilled.

The next is still more radical. The old law of retribution required the exaction of a penalty equal, but no greater, than the offence. "Thine eye shall not pity; life shall go for life, eye for eye, tooth for tooth, hand for hand, foot for foot." [1] Private revenge must give way to public justice; but public justice must have an exact and even hand. No more and no less could be required than the wrong inflicted. Yet there must be no pity, no forgiveness. Justice required retribution, and must be not denied.

But the Gospel outdoes even impartial justice. It contemplates a new method of correction, a new way of attaining peace and righteousness between man and man. It presupposes a deeper knowledge of human nature, a broader grasp of the psychology of morality. It knows that men are not reformed by retribution, nor wrongs righted by public or private vengeance. It gives up, therefore, the idea of retributive justice as futile, and chooses a new way—the untried way of love. "Resist not the evil man; but whosoever smiteth thee on thy right cheek, turn to him the other also. And if any man would go to law with thee, and take away thy coat, let him have thy cloak also. And whosoever shall compel thee to go one mile, go with him two. Give to him that asketh thee, and from him that would borrow of thee, turn not thou away." [2]

[1] Deut. xix. 21; cf. Ex. xxi. 24; Lev. xxiv. 20.

[2] Matt. v. 39–42.

These words are often described as the principle of "non-resistance," but without justification. To turn the other cheek for a second blow is more than not to resist the first. To give voluntarily one's cloak in addition is more than to submit passively to being despoiled of one's coat. What is intended is a rebuke, a retribution—the rebuke of self-forgetful love, which is willing to bear itself the retribution in the effort to reform the offender. The suffering is not cowardly or servile; it is vicarious. The motive is not personal fear; it is redemptive love. The injunction is to overcome evil with good. It is positive, not negative.[1]

The world is still unready to understand and accept Jesus' principle. Christendom is still on the plane of "an eye for an eye and a tooth for a tooth." Jesus' word remains a "counsel of perfection," an impractical ideal. But Jesus shuns no counsel of perfection. The task He had set Himself was to "fulfil" the law. And where that law was imperfect and inadequate He must bring it to completeness and sufficiency.

The last example is the climax of all. The old law said explicitly "love thy neighbour," but by implication also "hate thine enemy." The quotation is from Leviticus xix. 18, which reads: "Thou shalt not take vengeance nor bear any grudge *against the children of thy people*; but thou shalt love thy neighbour as thyself." Here "neighbour" is equivalent to "fellow-Israelite." Nothing is said about loving the Gentile. The injunction is parallel to that declaring the taking of interest from a Jew unlawful,[2] but expressly permitting

[1] For a defence of Jesus' principle on the grounds of social psychology, cf. Hocking, *Human Nature and its Re-making*, 1918, pp. 350 f.

[2] Exod. xxii. 25; Lev. xxv. 35–37; Deut. xxiii. 19.

it to be taken from the foreigner.[1] And among the promises of Israel's future glory was that "thou shalt lend unto many nations, but thou shalt not borrow."[2] Jesus is not referring therefore in "hate thine enemy" to an unjustifiable inference of the Rabbis, as some have maintained. He is adding a legitimate deduction from the context of the passage He had quoted and from the general tenor of the Mosaic Law. It is a deduction also which the rest of the Old Testament amply corroborates.

It is true occasional passages rise above this plane. The possessions of one's private enemy are to be respected.[3] There is a striking exception also in Proverbs, quoted by Paul :[4] "If thine enemy be hungry, give him bread to eat, and if he be thirsty give him water to drink ; for thou wilt heap coals of fire upon his head, and Jehovah will reward thee."

But the general attitude of the Old Testament is different. Samuel enjoins Saul to "go and smite Amalek and utterly destroy all that they have, and spare them not ; but slay both man and woman, infant and suckling, ox and sheep, camel and ass."[5] The Book of Esther exults in the Jews' cold-blooded slaughter of seventy-five thousand, who seem to have been guilty of no greater crime than to have been the enemies of the Jewish people.[6] The Psalmists sometimes glory in hatred and curses upon their enemies,[7] or in felicitating those who would take vengeance upon Babylon "as she hath served" others and should "dash her little

[1] Deut. xxiii. 20. [2] Deut. xv. 6.
[3] Exod. xxiii. 4. [4] Prov. xxv. 21, 22 ; Rom. xii. 19, 20.
[5] 1 Sam. xv. 3, cf. verse 33, also Exod. xvii. 14 ; Deut. vii. 2 ; xxiii. 6 ; xxv. 17.
[6] Esth. ix. 5–16. [7] Cf. Ps. cix. 6–20 ; cxl. 9–10.

ones against the rock." [1] Elijah in particular feels justified in calling down fire from heaven upon two companies of the king's army, who came only in obedience to orders to bring the prophet into the king's presence. The wantonness of their destruction seems all the more patent when Elijah goes to the king voluntarily with the third company.[2] "Hate thine enemy" was evidently regarded by the Jews as a virtue, just as it is by the average man to-day.

In place of this spirit Jesus says: "Love your enemies, and pray for them that persecute you, that ye may be sons of your Father who is in heaven; for He maketh His sun to rise on the evil and the good and sendeth rain on the just and the unjust." Here is the most stupendously revolutionary injunction uttered by Jesus. When He said this He knew He was contradicting not only the Old Testament, but a universal human instinct which had been fixed by the age-long struggle of race against race and clan against clan. Yet nowhere had it been more freely glorified than in Hebrew history. The national exclusiveness of Judaism was officially sanctioned and fostered by the Old Testament in order to preserve the purity of Israel's religion. As Bousset has well said, "Later Judaism developed a genius for hate." [3] The apocalyptic literature [4] shows Jesus' period took all too literally the Law's implied injunction to hate one's enemies. Only the vision of a Kingdom of God which should include men of all races and a universal divine Fatherhood could have inspired in the heart of Jesus such a revolutionary ideal.

The Law's implied limitation of neighbour to "the

[1] Ps. cxxxvii. 8, 9. [2] 2 Kings i. 9–15.
[3] *Jesu Predigt in ihrem Gegensatz zum Judentum*, 1892, p. 46.
[4] Cf. Enoch xc. 2 f.; Assumptio Mosis x. 9 f.

children of thy people" afforded a certain justification to the question of the lawyer,[1] "Who is my neighbour?" We are in danger of missing the irony of Jesus' reply in the parable of the Good Samaritan, for according to the contemporary Jewish notion a Samaritan could not be a "neighbour," and to "hate" him was a virtue. Yet it is he who "proved himself neighbour" to the Jew who fell among robbers. Here was a practical exemplification of loving one's neighbour—but the neighbour was an "enemy," and it was he who did the loving, not the Jew.

Another example of Jesus' antithesis to the Old Testament in this particular is found in the incident of the inhospitable Samaritans.[2] The disciples, James and John, remembering Elijah and the soldiers of Ahaziah, asked permission to call down fire from heaven and consume them. They could not see why the miraculous power they observed Jesus using constantly for beneficent purposes could not be applied to punishment also. And they felt they had full sanction for this in the Old Testament in Elijah's action. But Jesus "rebuked them," and incidentally, as Dean Hodges says,[3] Elijah also, and according to some ancient authorities added, "Ye know not what manner of spirit ye are of," and according to still others, "For the Son of Man came not to destroy men's lives, but to save them."[4] Whether genuine or not, these additions vividly express the unavoidable contrast between Jesus' spirit and Elijah's, a contrast of which He as a student of the Old Testament could not but be expressly conscious.

[1] Luke x. 29. [2] Luke ix. 52 f.

[3] *How to Know the Bible*, p. 21.

[4] Cf. Barth, *Hauptprobleme des Lebens Jesu*, 1907, p. 98, for a defence of the genuineness of these additions.

Yet one may still say that here too Jesus did not destroy the Law. In the limitations it put on private revenge through cities of refuge, by the *lex talionis*, and especially by these positive injunctions to love one's neighbour, even if neighbour was a restricted concept, the Mosaic Law was on a plane of morality above that which preceded it. It was pointed in the direction of Jesus' ideal. Not in every "jot and tittle" perfect, but a preparation and appropriate foundation for the completer standards of the Kingdom of God.

We are now in a better position to understand Jesus' meaning in Matthew v. 17 f. It is clear Jesus was not engaged in "destroying the Law." Neither was He reaffirming it. He was correcting, supplementing, spiritualizing, universalizing. Putting in place of its partial and external statutes the complete and inclusive universal principle. When He says He came "to fulfil" then He must mean "to make perfect," "to bring to its consummation," a signification the word frequently bears in the New Testament.[1] Jesus was guilty of no slavish subordination, no complacent veneration, no easy bibliolatry toward the Mosaic Law, as were the contemporary Rabbis. He recognized the Law's shortcomings, its inadequateness, its externality, and set Himself to complete it by substituting the inner principle. If this were made dominant in men's hearts the Law's outward demands and prohibitions would be rendered unnecessary. If He uttered the words of Matthew v. 18, 19 as we have them, His thought must have been similar to that of Jeremiah xxxi. 31 f. and Hebrews viii. 8 f., where God promises to write His laws upon men's hearts and so to universalize and

[1] Cf. Luke xxii. 16; 2 Thess. i. 11; 2 Cor. x. 6; Phil. ii. 2; John iii. 29; xv. 11; Rev. iii. 2.

spiritualize them that they become a new covenant, and He must fully have recognized, as did the author of the Epistle to the Hebrews, that the old "which waxeth aged is nigh unto vanishing away."

Once at least Luke reports [1] that Jesus spoke as if He too regarded the Law as having already reached its end and a new dispensation inaugurated with John the Baptist. "The law and the prophets were until John, from that time the Gospel of the Kingdom of Heaven is preached." If these words are genuine, Jesus seems to anticipate His great interpreter, for whom "Christ" was "the end of the law unto righteousness to very one that believeth," and "the law is become our schoolmaster to bring us to Christ." [2] Yet it is more likely that this Lucan passage and the Matthean which reaffirmed the Law in every "jot and tittle" as a permanent element in the new order, are both due to a heightened colouration which they received from their contrasting media of transmission. One represents the universalism of the Gentile Church characteristic of Luke, while the other has been sharpened by the Jewish view-point reflected in Matthew's veneration for the Mosaic Law. As they stand they flatly contradict each other, and it is hardly likely Jesus would be so inconsistent. Yet both statements contain an element of truth. Jesus truly made an end of the Mosaic Law, but at the same time He did not destroy it. All that was adequate He preserved and universalized. Yet, if He was a consistent thinker,[3] He must have realized

[1] xvi. 16. [2] Rom. x. 4; Gal. iii. 24.

[3] For our purpose it is of slight importance whether Jesus began His ministry with a naïve acceptance of the Law, and only gradually developed a more critical one, or whether He had settled convictions from the first. However, as Fritz Barth (*Die Hauptprobleme des Lebens Jesu*, 1907, p. 105) says, "Whoever appeared in public

His own progressive attitude and have regarded the old Law as valid only as it was taken up and eternalized in the principles of the Kingdom. His words in enunciating those principles were not out of harmony or relation with the old ; but they were new, so new that He could say that he that was but little in the Kingdom of Heaven was greater than John, though John was greater than all who preceded him.

It is evident Jesus spoke out of a revolutionary self-consciousness. He was not unaware of what He was doing. Six times over against the Mosaic Law we have seen He put His own, " But I say unto you." Here was one who was conscious He was greater than Moses, that His knowledge of God's will and sympathy with His spirit transcended even that of the founder of the Jewish religion. His sense of sonship with the Father made Him the unique exponent of His will to men, and the new era He inaugurated original and independent, though not contradictory to what had gone before. In a word, the separation of Judaism and Christianity is not accidental. It was inevitable if Judaism persisted in its legalistic view of religion. The Christianity of Jesus had no place for " Law " as the adequate and final expression of the Will of God. The Pharisees were right. Jesus was a dangerous man. Rabbinism and Christianity have remained two essentially distinct religions—and will remain so until one or the other abandons its fundamental idea of the relation of God to men.

as Jesus with such demands as these, must have already attained full clarity on this important question between himself and God, otherwise He would have been a confused enthusiast, no original personality. In addition the words, ' But I say unto you,' and the discussion of the Sabbath, fall in the earlier period, and many a statement friendly to the Law, like Matt. xxiii. 2 ; xxiv. 20 ; xxvi. 18, in His last days."

But the Church, unfortunately, has not known her own Christ. She has subordinated Him to the Old Testament, which she has regarded as permanently and literally normative for her life and doctrine. Its primitive morality she has not corrected by the standards of Jesus, and its apocalyptic eschatology she has only partially Christianized. She has understood Jesus' Gospel as a new law, or at best a reaffirmation of the moral elements of the old. Within a century she brought legalism back into the Church, and soon thereafter substituted her own authority for that of the Spirit. She has not realized how original and revolutionary her Founder was, and though she has drawn the major part of her Protestant theology from Paul, his chief contention that we are no longer "under law" has escaped her. Like his Jewish-Christian opponents, she has been too much afraid of antinomianism, too obtuse to see that the moral obligation of Jesus' new principle of inner attitude of heart is more rigorous and more comprehensive than any law. In consequence the Church does not usually bring communicants the sense of freedom, the exuberant joy and the compelling power of early Christianity. Her life is not spontaneous obedience to the indwelling Spirit. It is cold, conventional, legal, formal. Its elasticity and power of adaptation have ceased to be so great. Weighed down by many accumulations, she needs to know again the emancipating power of her own Messiah, who was "anointed to preach good tidings to the poor, to proclaim release to the captives, and recovering of sight to the blind, to set at liberty them that are bruised, to proclaim the acceptable year of the Lord."

Modern Society is still less Christian than the Church. Our jurisprudence and legislation are punitive rather

than redemptive. They move in the atmosphere of "an eye for an eye and a tooth for a tooth." The majority of our legislators and judges see no way to prevent crime but by the multiplication of laws and the increase of the severity of penalties. Slight effort is made to understand the economic and social conditions which predispose to crime, or the psychopathic limitations of individual criminals. It is supposed that the enactment of statutes and the infliction of indiscriminate punishments is sufficient. A few beginnings have been made in the classification of criminals, the establishment of juvenile and boys' courts, psychopathic institutes, the indeterminate sentence, the system of probation, etc., but they are only beginnings and are neither understood nor approved by the Press and public in general.

Much the same may be said concerning our penal institutions. Only a small proportion of them are really reformative or consciously aim at reformation. No adequate effort is made to rehabilitate the criminal or to prepare him physically, economically, mentally and morally to return to his place as a useful member of society. As an outcast he enters and as an outcast he leaves the prison. Frequently it has served only as a school in further criminality and graduates him more antisocial in his attitudes than he was before he entered its doors. Man does not really regard himself as "his brother's keeper"; he is only his "avenger." Our courts and prisons as generally administered are little more than a socialized vendetta, and it is questionable if they are any more effective.

In international relations and diplomacy we are hardly yet on the plane of "an eye for an eye and a tooth for a tooth." We have not reached even the level of Jewish morality. We are frankly and unaffectedly

Pagan. Any subterfuge or deception is permissible, any oppression or exploitation of backward peoples lawful which can be successfully carried through. Might usually makes right. The restraints of international law and world opinion are hardly worth mentioning. It can scarcely be said there is any general consideration for national morality. Diplomacy is unaware of either Moses or Jesus. Internationally we are still naïvely primitive.

"The Law" and "the Gospel" once played noteworthy rôles in the theology of individual salvation. To-day they battle as rival programmes of social reformation. They are not mutually exclusive. But "the Law" must be subordinated to "the Gospel," not vice versa. Coercion and punishment must be disciplinary, not punitive. The Law must be "a schoolmaster to lead us to Christ." It must develop in us capacity for the freedom of full manhood, which is only another name for the sonship of God. And if it is to do this, it must be accompanied by a "social atonement" by which society itself pays for its antisocial members. Society has not begun to estimate what this will cost, much less evolved a willingness to pay the price. But there is "salvation in no other." Modern social science agrees with Jesus. Society to save its corporate life must lose its life in saving its lost members.

## CHAPTER III

# JESUS AND THE TEMPLE

THE Temple had already ceased to hold the place in the estimation of the Jews of Jesus' day which it had originally possessed. The Synagogue had usurped much of its importance, and since the Exile Judaism had become more a doctrinal than a ritualistic religion. A generation later the Temple was completely destroyed and its ritual ceased, yet legalistic Judaism survived without serious jar the loss of what had been originally its most central element. Nevertheless to Jesus' generation the Temple and its services still symbolized Jehovah's presence and unique relation to His people, and were unspeakably dear to every Jewish heart.

As a child of His people Jesus frequented the Temple. He attended there celebrations of the Jewish feasts, not only the Passovers, but according to the Gospel of John also Tabernacles, Dedication, and probably lesser feasts.[1] We have no record of His having had any part in the sacrifices, except in the case of the last Passover,[2] but it is altogether probable that He did have some part on other occasions, for He recommends sacrifice to other people,[3] and can hardly have refused

[1] Cf. vii. 2, 10 ; x. 22 ; v. 1.

[2] Mark xi. 1 f. and parallels ; cf. Luke xxii. 7 f.

[3] Mark i. 44 = Matt. viii. 4 = Luke v. 14 ; Luke xvii. 14 ; cf. Matt. v. 24.

it therefore for Himself. Nevertheless Jesus' great purpose in visiting the Temple seems to have been to make use of the opportunities it offered for teaching the multitudes. They gathered there in great numbers at the feast-times, and its courts and porches afforded convenient places for discussion, and often for even public preaching.[1]

There are passages also which imply that Jesus regarded the Temple with personal esteem and devotion. The words of the boy of twelve, "I must be in my Father's house" (or "about His business"),[2] are prophetic of His subsequent attitude. To Him as to the Prophet of old the building was a "house of prayer," not for Israel only, but for "all peoples." Where "foreigners that join themselves to Jehovah to minister unto Him and to love the name of Jehovah" might bring their "burnt-offerings and sacrifices" and "be accepted upon His altar."[3] Even the gold upon its walls was sacred, as were the altar and the gift upon it, and indeed the very house itself—on account of "Him that dwelleth therein."[4] No accommodation to Jewish superstition is here necessary. The words imply that for Jesus too the Temple was a sacred spot, and in a real sense "the house of God."

On the other hand, it is striking to note that Jesus did not share the superstitious veneration for the Temple common in His day. He did not consider it inviolably sacred, taking precedence over all human values, and standing as the indispensable embodiment of the true worship of Jehovah. His attitude to the Temple was

[1] Cf. John x. 23 ; vii. 37.
[2] Luke ii. 49.
[3] Cf. Is. lvi. 6–8, which Jesus quoted in Mark xi. 17 = Matt. xxi. 13 = Luke xix. 46.
[4] Matt. xxiii. 16 f.

similar to that which He assumed toward the Sabbath. Just as the Sabbath as an institution must give way before larger humanitarian principles, so the Temple. Its claims were not superior to those of needy parents, for example. One could not dedicate property to God and thereby avoid supporting an aged father and mother. The Fifth Commandment He regarded as more important than the Temple.[1] He emphatically rebukes those who say "that wherewith thou mightest have been profited by me is Corban, that is to say, Given to God"; to do so He regarded as "making void the word of God." In this He clearly teaches that worship does not take precedence over love, but love over worship. Similarly, if one is engaged in the act of sacrifice and remembers there remains an injury to a brother unredressed, the act of worship must be interrupted until the wrong is set right. "If therefore thou art offering thy gift at the altar and there rememberest that thy brother hath aught against thee, leave there thy gift before the altar, and go thy way, first be reconciled to thy brother, and then come and offer thy gift."[2] Evidently worship does not have precedence over social justice, but social justice over worship. Gifts to God are unacceptable when they come out of an unreconciled life. Here ritual is not abolished, but it is subordinated to morality. The principle is embodied in Hosea vi. 6, "For I desire goodness and not sacrifice; and the knowledge of God more than burnt-offerings." This verse is twice quoted by Jesus according to Matthew's account, though it is not mentioned in the parallel passages in Mark.[3] It is altogether probable, however, that it was a prophecy which had been pondered by Jesus, and its far-reaching

[1] Mark vii. 11 = Matt. xv. 5. [2] Matt. v. 23 f.
[3] Matt. ix. 13; xii. 7; cf. Mark ii. 17, 26.

consequences realized, for it expresses exactly the principle underlying the two instances just mentioned, and conforms with His general habit of putting ethical principles before ceremonial customs or institutions.

When we have said this we have not spoken the final word on Jesus and the Temple. Evidently His thoughts about it were still more revolutionary. The prejudice of His contemporaries and the immaturity of His disciples made caution necessary, but occasionally He let fall sayings which reveal the limits to which His own thinking had led Him. The first two of these are peculiar to Matthew, and therefore not so highly attested, but in neither case is there any inherent improbability that they were spoken by Jesus.

At the conclusion of His reference to David's entering the Temple and eating the showbread—an incident which Jesus never would have mentioned had He held highly sacramentarian views of the Temple—Matthew adds to Mark's account this significant climax: "I say unto you that a greater than the Temple is here." [1] We have a similar statement, this one well authenticated: [2] "Behold a greater than Jonah (and Solomon, ver. 42) is here." Who is it who is greater than Jonah, Solomon or the Temple? It can only be the Messiah, whose office and function Jesus must have estimated so highly that prophet, king and Temple alike were less sacred and authoritative than He.

The other Matthean passage concerns the payment of the Temple Tax.[3] It relates the story of the arrival

[1] Matt. xii. 6; cf. Mark ii. 26. Allen assigns verses 5–6, the Matthean additions to Mark, to the Matthean Logia, cf. *Com. on Matt.*, 1907, pp. lviii. 128.

[2] Matt. xii. 41 f. = Luke xi. 31 f. Evidently from "Q." Cf. Harnack, *Sprüche und Reden Jesu*, 1906, pp. 20, 95.

[3] Matt. xvii. 24–27. The authenticity of the passage has been questioned by many, and is certainly open to suspicion. However,

of the officers who collected the annual contribution of a half-shekel which every adult male Israelite was under obligation to pay toward the support of the Temple. This tax was imposed by the Law of Moses,[1] and was regarded as a "ransom" paid for their "souls," for being spared the devastation of plague. The officer's question of Peter reveals at the beginning Jesus' reputation for nonconformity. "Doth your Teacher pay the half-shekel?" Evidently they were not sure whether Jesus, whose conduct in general was so extraordinary, was in the habit of paying or not. Even though it was a prescription of the Law they could not be certain of His obedience. But Peter's reply set them at rest. It was His custom to conform in this at least. The subsequent story explains why. Jesus' figure is based upon the Oriental usage of rulers to take tribute of subject peoples rather than of their own citizens. "What thinkest thou, Simon? the kings of the earth, from whom do they receive toll or tribute? from their sons or from strangers? And when he said, From strangers, Jesus said unto him, Therefore the sons are free. But lest we cause them to stumble, go thou to the sea, and cast a hook, and take up the fish that first cometh up; and when thou hast opened his mouth, thou shalt find a shekel: that take, and give unto them from me and thee."

If this passage is genuine it reveals a Messianic consciousness which makes the children of the Kingdom free from the Temple. It removes them from any

it must be earlier than the fall of Jerusalem (cf. Wellhausen, *Ev. Matt.*, 1904, p. 90), and as Allen, who assigns it to a group of Palestinian traditions used by the evangelist, says (op. cit. p. lx.), "Judgment upon their date and value must be almost wholly subjective."

[1] Cf. Exod. xxx. 11–16.

essential obligation to support its services, and therefore from any inner need to engage in its forms and ceremonies. Jesus implies here the new order would find its own forms more adapted to its spirit than were the symbols and ritual of the Temple. This is in harmony with Jesus' saying concerning the impossibility of retaining the "new wine" of the Kingdom in the "old wine-skins" of the Jewish forms.[1] But this freedom is still compatible with conformity. Lest needless offence be given, the tax would better be paid, and steps should be taken to secure the necessary money. Participation in the old worship was in itself not wrong, and it was inexpedient to multiply the stumbling blocks, already numerous enough, for those whose allegiance was to be won.

Here is applied the same principle of Christian liberty which Paul develops in Romans xiv and xv and 1 Corinthians viii–x. Other people's weaknesses, prejudices and lack of knowledge are to be respected, even at loss to oneself, in order that their consciences may not be offended, "for the Kingdom of God is not eating and drinking" (i.e. freedom to do what we please in these ceremonial matters) "but righteousness and peace and joy in the Holy Spirit." . . . So then let us follow after things which make for peace, and things whereby we may edify one another. Overthrow not for meat's sake the work of God."[2]

One argument for the genuineness of this story is that it suggests an explanation of much of the apparent inconsistency of Jesus' conduct. He refuses to fast or to wash before meals because the exaggerations of the Pharisees had made these whole performances ridiculous. He breaks the Sabbath to show them what an inhuman

[1] Cf. Mark ii. 21, 22 and the discussion above.
[2] Rom. xiv. 17–20.

institution they had made of it. He points out by His "But I say unto you" how incomplete and inadequate was the letter of the Old Testament in which they gloried. In these instances necessity demanded that His position should be plain and manifest, but where the time was not ripe and His hearers were unprepared He sought to avoid giving needless offence. "Neither cast your pearls before swine," He said, "lest haply they trample them under foot, and turn and rend you." [1] We may suppose that there were other things also beside the Temple Tax in which Jesus conformed to custom, like attendance at the feasts and advice to the lepers, though He felt within that He and "the sons" were really free.

There are, however, more unmistakably authentic passages which show Jesus' estimate of the importance of the Temple was very different from His contemporaries; He viewed its destruction with equanimity, while the very thought brought consternation to His disciples. They were certainly as apocalyptical in their thinking as He was, and were looking for astounding prodigies at the end of the age, but they never imagined for a moment that Jerusalem and the Temple would not be the centre of the new creation, and a new world without a Temple was inconceivable to their minds. Jesus does not share their view. His prophecy of the destruction of the Temple comes in the narrative of Mark as a rebuke to the disciples' boastful admiration for it. "Teacher," one of them said, "behold what manner of stones and what manner of buildings! And Jesus said unto him, Seest thou these great buildings? there shall not be left here one stone upon another, which shall not be thrown down." [2]

[1] Matt. vii. 6.

[2] Mark xiii. 2.

This was not Jesus' only reference to the destruction of the Temple. In the account of His trial before the Sanhedrin false witnesses are produced who say: "We heard Him say, I will destroy this Temple that is made with hands, and in three days I will build another, made without hands."[1] In what sense and degree the testimony was false is not indicated, but it is clear from the questions of the High Priest which follow that the accusation was connected in some way with Jesus' claim to be the Messiah, for when Jesus refuses to answer the accusation the High Priest inquires further: "Art Thou the Christ, the Son of the Blessed?" It appears that whatever Jesus had really said about the destruction of the Temple must have been said in relation to what He was going to do as Messiah. The Gospel of John bears testimony that Jesus did say something very like what the false witnesses declare. When the Jews ask for a sign of His authority, Jesus replies: "Destroy this temple, and in three days I will raise it."[2] They understood it of the literal Temple, as their answer about the forty-and-six years it took to build the Temple shows. It is difficult also to see how by all ordinary rules of grammatical reference Jesus could refer to any other. Would Jesus have made to the Jews a cryptic reference to His body as "*this* temple" when they were in the literal Temple and talking about its recent cleansing? If the witnesses are right in their adjective "made with hands," He could not have spoken thus of His body, for it surely was not made with hands. That the phrase "made with hands" generally was connected with the literal Temple, Acts vii. 48 and xvii. 24 show, for here Stephen

[1] Mark xiv. 58; cf. Matt. xxvi. 61.
[2] John ii. 19.

and Paul imply God does not dwell in such hand-made temples. Evidently the disciples also understood Him at the time to refer to the literal Temple, because it is stated that only after Jesus' resurrection did they explain it as referring to the temple of His body and the resurrection. Now it is very obvious that the resurrection and the universal worship made possible by it did fulfil the prophecy, even if the temple destroyed was meant by Jesus to be the literal Jewish Temple. If it were destroyed Jesus would erect a universal temple, the Christian Church, described as a temple in 1 Peter ii. 5 and Ephesians ii. 21, 22. This Church Paul explicitly calls "the body" of Christ.[1] It is easy to see, then, how the Christians in later days could imagine Jesus' reference was to the crucifixion and resurrection of His body. The phrase "in three days" would confirm this, though it need not have originally meant more than "in a short time."[2]

If we are right, then Jesus' saying quoted at His trial originally referred to the destruction of the Jewish Temple and the substitution of some other form of worship in the new Kingdom by Jesus as the Messiah. This view receives powerful confirmation from the account of the trial of Stephen in Acts vi and vii. The charge against Stephen was: "This man ceaseth not to speak words against this holy place [the Temple] and

[1] Col. i. 18, 24; Eph. i. 23; iv. 12; v. 23, 30.

[2] Cf. Moffatt (*Dictionary of Christ and the Gospels*, vol. ii. p. 752), "The original meaning may have been that Jesus, who claimed to be greater than the Temple, would raise His community even though the Jewish system of worship was shattered. If He came to associate His own death with the ruin of the sanctuary, it was inevitable that the conception of His personal resurrection should further colour the saying. But in any case the later Christian reflection would read it in the light of the resurrection, whether with or without any historical justification."

the Law, for we have heard him say, that this Jesus of Nazareth shall destroy this place and shall change the customs which Moses delivered unto us." [1] Where did Stephen get his warrant for saying that Jesus would destroy the Jewish Temple if not from Jesus' own words? It is said that these too were false witnesses, but the falsehood of their testimony was not in that Stephen did not attack the sanctity and uniqueness of the Temple, for his defence in chap. vii consists in such an attack and a demonstration that God had revealed Himself in many other places besides the Temple and "dwelleth not in houses made with hands." [2] Here, in Stephen's defence, is unmistakably a reminiscence of Jesus' words as quoted by the false witnesses at His trial. Both Stephen and the Fourth Gospel therefore support the authenticity of the prophecy of the Temple's destruction attributed to Jesus. The Fourth Gospel takes it figuratively and mystically of Jesus' body—in accordance with the manifest tendency all through the Gospel. But Stephen evidently took the same saying literally of the Jewish Temple, and defends his position by a long historical argument against the exclusive and localized worship of Jehovah at Jerusalem. He draws also a parallel between Jesus and Moses which justifies the other charge against him that Jesus "would change the customs which Moses delivered unto us." Stephen manifestly had understood Jesus better than the original disciples, and has been frequently recognized as the bridge from Jesus to Paul. Stephen's whole argument is significant. It everywhere emphasizes the universality of God's revelation of Himself. Long before Mount Zion was ever heard of God revealed Himself "to Abram when he was in Mesopo-

[1] Acts vi. 13, 14. [2] Verse 47.

tamia, before even he lived" so near as "Haran."[1] And there in the wilderness, at the burning bush, God spoke to Moses, and a spot of heathen land God consecrated by saying, "Loose the sandals from off thy feet, for the place whereon thou standest is holy ground."[2] In Mount Sinai also, not Jerusalem, God's angel spoke to Moses,[3] and in the Tabernacle, a movable tent, they worshipped Jehovah all these years of the wilderness wandering, and it was not until the days of Solomon that the Temple was built.[4] Finally Stephen, rising to the climax of his argument, categorically affirms that no house whatever built by human hands can be the habitation of God. For heaven is His throne and the earth His footstool—and the whole universe He has made alone is worthy to contain Him.[5] Both Stephen and Paul are evidence that Jesus was much more consciously universalistic than the rank and file of His Jewish followers supposed Him, and make inherently probable such a revolutionary prophecy as that Jesus would put an end to the Jewish Temple and erect in its place a diviner, universal worship "not made with hands."

This and other evidence has led a number of scholars to the view that the so-called "cleansing of the Temple" was intended by Jesus to be a public and formal abrogation of the Temple sacrifices rather than a protest against the building's profanation. In particular Oesterley[6] argues: "The essence of practical Judaism consisted above all things in the strict observance of the Sabbath and the due and regular carrying out of the

[1] Acts vii. 2.
[2] Acts vii. 33.
[3] Acts vii. 38.
[4] Acts vii. 44–46.
[5] Acts vii. 48, 49; cf. Is. lxvi. 1, 2.
[6] *Dictionary of Christ and the Gospels*, vol. ii. p. 712.

sacrificial system. . . . Christ abrogated the Sabbath in the old Jewish sense of the word. The 'cleansing' of the Temple denoted His intention of doing the same with the other prime mark of practical Judaism, viz. the sacrificial system. That this is really the inner meaning of the 'cleansing' of the Temple the following considerations will show.

"(1) The outer court (of the Gentiles), where the 'cleansing' took place, was not sacred soil; it cannot therefore have been on account of profanation of the Temple that Christ acted as He did.

"(2) The stress laid in each of the Synoptics on the Temple being a 'house of prayer.'

"(3) The time of year, at the Feast of the Passover, when the sacrificial animals would be crowding in as at no other time. This made Christ's action all the more significant.

"(4) The belief and attitude of both hierarchy and people regarding the sacrifices were such that the abrogation of these was an indispensable necessity if Christ's teaching was to have practical and permanent results."

This view places an entirely new construction on the whole incident. Its novelty will render it questionable to many, but it explains with a new clarity Jesus' purpose in going up to Jerusalem, the intensity of the opposition of the Sadducees during His last days, and their abandonment of even the forms of justice in the conduct of His trial. There are also general considerations which make some such theory plausible. It receives powerful confirmation, for example, from the analogy of His attitude to the Mosaic Law. We recall that Jesus expressly said He came to fulfil, i.e. to "perfect" or "complete," the Mosaic Law. Did He see no

need for a similar completion of the Mosaic ritual? The conventional view of the cleansing of the Temple supposes He did not, or ignores the question entirely. But could Jesus have proposed that bloody sacrifices should continue in the new age He was inaugurating? That the ornate and formal ritual of the Temple should remain the highest expression of worship in the Kingdom of God? That the corrupt and worldly priesthood at Jerusalem should be the permanent mediators between the New Israel and Jehovah? Could they satisfy the purity and simplicity of the man who taught His disciples to repeat the "Lord's Prayer"? His followers maintained the "priesthood of all believers," [1] the first generation developed the doctrine of the high-priesthood of Christ.[2] They felt the need of a radical change in these matters. But did all this escape Jesus? Did He never say or do anything which would give a warrant for these radical transformations? For Him the conception of the Fatherhood of God was dominant. He drew the logical conclusions from this in a social morality embodying the doctrine of the universal brotherhood of men. He taught by example and precept the immediate access of men to God. Could He not see that under the old forms "the way into the holy place had not yet been made manifest?" [3] That "in those sacrifices there is only a remembrance made of sins year by year," [4] that the way to God was barred in the Temple worship by a thousand ceremonial regulations, through the mediation of priests and sacrifices, ordinance and ritual, so that there could be no consciousness of freedom of access, no spontaneous, filial fellowship between the worshipper and his God?

[1] 1 Pet. ii. 5 f., especially verse 9.
[2] Heb. ii. 17 and *passim*.
[3] Heb. ix. 8.
[4] Heb. x. 3.

There is a saying in the Fourth Gospel which makes it impossible to believe Jesus failed of this intention. It has every semblance of genuineness. It is wholly in harmony with Jesus' spirit, but it shows a revolutionary attitude toward the Temple and its worships which makes all we have found hinted at in the Synoptic Gospels natural and necessary. It is the saying to the Samaritan woman by the well of Jacob, "Woman, believe me, the hour cometh when neither in this mountain nor in Jerusalem shall ye worship the Father. Ye worship that which ye know not. We worship that which we know, for salvation is from the Jews. But the hour cometh and now is, when the true worshippers shall worship the Father in spirit and in truth, for such doth the Father seek to be His worshippers. God is a spirit ; and they that worship Him must worship in spirit and truth." [1]

As Wendt has well said,[2] "this saying affects the whole Cultus order of the Old Testament as radically as does that of Mark vii. 15 f. the Old Testament regulations concerning ceremonial purity." If the principle that nothing which is eaten can defile a man's heart, makes futile the Messianic legislation concerning clean and unclean meats, then the saying to the Samaritan woman nullifies the long Old Testament process which localized the worship of Jehovah at Jerusalem and outlawed every other holy place. It makes unnecessary the punctilious observances of Mosaic ordinances for the celebration of the annual feasts, the provisions for the regular burnt-offerings and sacrifices. In fact, it does away with the necessity for an Aaronic priesthood itself and the building of marble and gold with the barbaric splendour

[1] John iv. 21–24.
[2] *Lehre Jesus*, 1901, vol. ii. pp. 198 f.

of its appointments. It goes far beyond the author of the Epistle to the Hebrews. He conceived of priesthood as a permanent institution in religion. Jesus goes deeper. He seeks the moral and spiritual reality behind the idea of priesthood, that truly sincere and moral approach to God which recognizes human sin yet is confident of the divine forgiveness because it is determined on complete harmony with and fulfilment of God's perfect moral will—the consciousness that finds its classic expression in the Lord's Prayer and in the parable of the Pharisee and the Publican.

Evidently Jesus felt concerning the religious aspects of the Kingdom of God very much as we have seen He felt concerning the moral. Just as the external and inadequate Mosaic Code could not suffice for the guidance of the conduct of the members of the new order, neither could the old Mosaic forms of worship and ritual be sufficient or appropriate to express their religious life. The new consciousness and experience of God was too rich and epoch-making to be contained in these old moulds. A newer, more direct and inward, and at the same time more essentially moral, approach to God was required, and this Jesus was prepared to establish in the place of the old Temple by virtue of His own revolutionary consciousness of God and the unique revelation of God's will it had committed to Him.

This is perhaps the superlative example of Jesus' independent and revolutionary attitude toward the older dispensation. Its importance it is difficult for us to appreciate, much less exaggerate. "Jerusalem," said the Old Testament and contemporary Judaism, "is the place where men ought to worship," not Mount Gerizim, not any other temple or "High Place" in the

world. Jesus said every place where there are true worshippers is a temple and anywhere in the world where "two or three are gathered" a house of prayer. By burnt-offerings and sacrifices of bulls and of goats shall men come, said the Old Testament. Rather with sincerity and reality of spirit, said Jesus. For God is not an idol to be decorated with outward gifts, or a man to be pleased with material possessions, but a Spirit to whom these things are indifferent; not a heathen deity that can be placated with blood, but the universal Father, whom men may know through their own fatherhood, for "if ye, being evil, know how to give good gifts unto your children, how much more shall your Father who is in heaven give good things to them that ask Him?"[1] Here Jesus gave to the world a new God, a new Temple, a new ritual and a new religion.

Yet in all this Jesus was not "destroying" the old. He was "fulfilling" it. His words to the Samaritan woman, "Ye worship that which ye know not," are unmistakable; "We worship that which we know; for salvation is from the Jews." In the old there was revealed a true knowledge of God and a Messianic hope which He was bringing to realization. The old was immature, it was inadequate, it was temporary, but it was genuine; not like the pagan cults about them, nor yet the adulterate and perverted worship conducted by the Samaritans on Mount Gerizim. It was the same God who spoke through Moses who now spake through Him, and the same Messianic hope which inspired the prophets which now He was consummating. He did not destroy the past, He built upon it; but He built a new building. Jesus' opponents understood all

[1] Matt. vii. 11.

this better than His immediate followers.[1] It was for this reason they put Him to death. So also did Paul. He has been considered the real founder of Christianity as a world religion. But it is only because the revolutionary position of Jesus remained unappreciated by both His original Apostles and these modern critics. Paul was only the discoverer of Jesus. He was the first to see the epochal implications involved in the positions Jesus had taken. The rest were content, so far as we know, to remain a subordinate Jewish sect. Paul saw something at least of Jesus' universalism, and he set himself the task of converting to Him the Roman Empire. He saw what might otherwise have escaped the others, that Jesus had founded a universal religion, and that "the Gentiles" were "fellow-heirs and fellow-members of the body, and fellow-partakers of the promise in Christ Jesus through the Gospel."[2] It is thus that we Gentiles came to be included and Christianity is to-day a "missionary religion."

When one recalls all this, it is surprising how little the Gentile Church has appreciated the revolutionary and creative purpose of Jesus. The majority of Christians still worship in Jewish temples. Not inappropriately do they call them "Thy Courts." A Jewish veil still hides the God of Jesus. A balustrade bars the approach of unwelcome alien peoples and pariah classes. Some precincts are still too holy for women or "Gentiles" to enter. "The way into the holy place hath not yet been made manifest" for all. Jewish ordinances and regulations everywhere abound. Catholic Christendom still preserves the ancient priesthood and,

[1] Feine thinks than He did Himself! *Theologie des N.T.*, 1910, p. 86.

[2] Eph. iii. 6.

in the Mass, a perpetual sacrifice. Orthodox Protestantism in its conventional view of the Atonement still glories in the shedding of blood, not the sacrifice on Calvary of an "eternal spirit." As the Jew felt when his formal sacrifice was offered, so the modern Protestant imagines God requires nothing further. He has experienced no moral at-one-ment with God, no personal participation in the redemptive suffering of Christ for men. His inner attitude of heart has not been changed either toward God or the world. He fears Jehovah's wrath—but he has avoided it, he thinks, by substituting another's suffering for his. His idea of redemption is still on the plane of primitive religion. It is not yet completely moralized. He supposes he can be saved by a fiction of God. The universe has for him no real moral order of which necessarily his own salvation must be a part. His is still an arbitrary, naïve, capricious world.

And there are many voices still crying, "Jerusalem is the place where men ought to worship." Every sect and denomination has its own essential forms, its creeds, its baptisms, its orders, its rites and ceremonies, its external prescriptions and regulations without whose possession and observance men cannot be saved. All of us have proved unequal to Jesus' sense of the greatness and spirituality of God. We must make some image graven in accordance with our presuppositions and bid the world bow down. Like Nicodemus, we cannot believe that "the wind bloweth where it will"; we are sure it blows only in accordance with our programme. God has bound Himself in the infallible deliverance of our favourite council or creed.

But Jesus sanctioned no conventionality of worship, no imposition of formula or ritual. He sought no unity

of form at the expense of reality of substance. He revealed a universal God, and brought the life abundant. He set men free from the narrow prejudice and provincialism of the Old Testament religion. He made it unchristian in His followers to try to enforce conformity. He lifted religion out of the plane of primitive superstition. His religion is universal because it recognizes as genuine all sincere and spiritual worship of the universal Father which is also moral. Jesus is truly the great Emancipator—as revolutionary and drastic in dealing with the Old Testament religion as He was when perfecting its morality. His followers have yet to realize how great He was.

## CHAPTER IV

# JESUS AND ROME

Rome in the days of Jesus was more than the world's mistress: she was its benefactress. Peace, unity, stability, comparative justice of administration, safety for trade, protection for travel, good roads, Greek letters, architecture, civilization—all were included among the bounties and the endowments of her supremacy. The Pax Romana was universally and justly extolled. Augustus was saluted as the "Saviour" of humanity. The world of Jesus' time already worshipped "the glory that was Rome." And yet we have no word of Jesus in her praise, no appreciation of her social and political benefactions. In this He shared the attitude of His people. The Jews as a people were never loyal, grateful, obedient subjects of the Empire. This was in spite of many special privileges, like exemption from military service, respect for the disabilities of Sabbath observance, etc. Nothing atoned for the forfeiture of independence. What were benefits to other peoples were to them violations of a scrupulous religious isolation. They were a monastic people, and had gained the reputation of being "haters of the human race."

On the other hand, all that Rome brought was not good. With her wealth and power came ostentation, corruption, pride, contempt, oppression, tribute, slavery, Greek vice, theatrical and gladiatorial shows, obscene

and cruel—and worst of all, idolatry and threatening profanation of the sanctities of Jehovah. The Jewish world reacted indignantly against these evils in a growing spirit of revolt, until, A.D. 66, the nation broke into open rebellion and war to the death ensued.

The ministry of Jesus was spent in the atmosphere of this incipient rebellion. The successful revolt of the Maccabees against their Syrian oppressors was a perennial inspiration. God had marvellously blessed and rewarded their faithfulness and patriotism. Would He not do as much for His people now if they showed a like loyalty and resolution? From the days of the enrolment (A.D. 6 or 7) down to the final rise of Bar-Cochba (A.D. 131–135) one leader after another came forward with more or less explicit claim to be Messiah. Evidently Josephus, in his desire to absolve the Jewish religion of responsibility for their sedition in the eyes of the Romans, minimizes the Messianic character of their disturbances.[1] Probably the popular Messianic expectation, which was very acute and largely political, coloured in this period much of the unrest and all of the efforts toward independence. The charge brought against Jesus at His trial before Pilate is that He was guilty of this Revolutionary Messianism. "We found this man perverting our nation, and forbidding to give tribute to Cæsar, and saying that He Himself is Christ a king."[2] The inscription on the cross shows it was on this charge He was delivered to the executioners. His companions in crucifixion were men who had been similarly condemned for sedition, and His rival Barabbas, the favourite of the multitude, was one who "for insurrection and

[1] Cf. Windisch, *Der messianische Krieg und das Urchristentum*, 1909, pp. 7 f. Volz, *Jüdische Eschatologie*, 1903, pp. 209–210.

[2] Luke xxiii. 2.

murder had been cast into prison." [1] Evidently Jesus' whole ministry was surrounded by a halo of revolutionary expectation in the eyes of the people, which the mystery of His references to Himself tended to exaggerate. His own disciples regarded Him through the same eyes. Peter could not believe Jesus was destined to be rejected by the authorities and to suffer and die.[2] James and John expected to share His temporal throne,[3] and even after His resurrection His disciples ask Him, "Dost Thou at this time restore the kingdom to Israel?" [4] Jesus lived and taught elevated upon a volcano of rebellion.

But how far was Jesus a conspirator? Is it true, as Bouck White says, "Through something like eighteen years He suffered it [Rome's economic oppression]. Then rebellion lit its fires within Him. He dropped His carpenter's apron, surrounded Himself with twelve other workmen, and set forth in a propaganda of popular arousement, the like of which for explosiveness and upheaval is not elsewhere found in history." [5] Was His religious teaching subordinate? "Jesus utilized to the full this inspirational fount of insurgency [religion]. He developed it beyond what any other awakener of the masses had done. So much so, in fact, that many reading His words have confused the end with the means, and have regarded religion as the cardinal interest of the Carpenter to which all else was contributory—a view supported neither by proof-texts, nor by the general type of man portrayed in the first three Gospels." [6] We have already observed enough of the generally

[1] Luke xxiii 25. [2] Mark viii. 32.
[3] Mark x. 35 f. [4] Acts i. 6.
[5] *The Carpenter and the Rich Man*, 1911, p. 23.
[6] *Ibid.* p. 93.

revolutionary character of Jesus to understand how easy it would be to interpret His attitude in terms of political revolution. The motive is obvious. All parties covet for their programme the prestige and sanction of Jesus. What they must prove is that Jesus was primarily not a religious teacher, but a social and political insurrectionist.[1] How far do the facts justify this contention ?

The question turns largely on Jesus' sanction of the use of force in the prosecution of His programme. During the recent war many who have no sympathy with radicalism found in Jesus' words or conduct justification for such a use of violence. The passage most frequently appealed to is John's account of the cleansing of the Temple. There,[2] it is said, " He made a scourge of cords, and cast all out of the temple, both the sheep and the oxen, and He poured out the changers' money, and overthrew their tables." It should be carefully noted that it is not stated at all that He scourged men. The word translated " cast out " in later Greek means no more than " put out," as is amply proved by its usage in the New Testament, papyri and modern Greek. The original of the passage, and likewise the English translation, does not require the use of the scourge upon any beside the sheep and oxen. And indeed any other interpretation of the situation would be absurd. The Temple courts at the Passover were filled with people.

[1] One of the most elaborate and scientific attempts to explain Jesus and His movement in terms of political revolution is that of the famous German socialist, Karl Kautsky, entitled *Der Ursprung des Christentums*, Stuttgart, 1908, translated as *The Origin of Christianity*, Boni and Liveright, 1917. Unfortunately the even more significant refutation of Kautsky by Hans Windisch, *Der messianische Krieg und das Urchristentum*, Tubingen, 1909, has not been translated. One should not be read without the other.

[2] John ii. 15 ; no reference is made to the scourge in the Synoptic accounts.

Temple guards—the same constabulary which later arrested Jesus—were there to preserve order. That one man and a whip of cords could eject these concessionaires, who must have been there with the approval of the priests (for they had to inspect their victims), is preposterous. It was the moral force of the Prophet which compelled obedience—that scourged the people with blistering words as Amos and Micah or John the Baptist had scourged them. It is significant that when Jesus is asked the next day by what authority He had acted, He implies it is by the same authority as John's. And we are not left in doubt by the evangelist whose was meant, for all "verily held John to be a prophet." [1]

Another passage, often quoted, is Jesus' saying, "Think not that I came to send peace on the earth; I came not to send peace, but a sword." [2] No one who reads this verse in its context can regard it as a justification of the use of force or the literal sword. The word "sword" is obviously a metaphor for the divisions and separations among families and friends incident to the acceptance of Jesus' teaching. For Jesus continues, "For I came to set a man at variance against his father, and the daughter against her mother, and the daughter-in-law against her mother-in-law: and a man's foes shall be they of his own household." Here "sword" stands for the discord and dissension of household separation. Jesus surely cannot recommend patricide and matricide, which a literal use of the word here would involve. The parallel in Luke makes the metaphorical use even more certain, for "sword" does not appear there at all, but another Greek word meaning explicitly "division." [3]

A third passage appealed to is Luke xxii. 35–38:

[1] Mark xi. 32. [2] Matt. x. 34. [3] Luke xii. 51.

"When I sent you forth without purse, and wallet, and shoes, lacked ye anything? And they said, Nothing. And He said unto them, But now, he that hath a purse, let him take it, and likewise a wallet; and he that hath none, let him sell his cloak, and buy a sword. For I say unto you, that this which is written must be fulfilled in me, and He was reckoned with transgressors; for that which concerneth me hath fulfilment. And they said, Lord behold, here are two swords. And He said unto them, It is enough."

The passage is admittedly obscure, but at least it cannot be a command of Jesus to His disciples to arm themselves for His and their defence. Two swords would not be "enough" for the defence of a dozen men. Nor would Jesus have healed the wound inflicted by the first blow of one of them [1] if that had been His purpose. Matthew is explicit. In this Gospel Jesus is recorded as saying to His militant disciple, "Put up again thy sword into its place; for all they that take the sword shall perish with the sword." [2] The incident, instead of containing a warrant for the use of force in the Matthean account,[3] is an occasion for the deliverance of a rebuke to all militancy. Though uncertain, the meaning of the whole passage is probably a warning to His disciples of their impending extremity. In the days of His popularity they needed nothing, not even purse or wallet, for their journey. Now the situation is different. They must prepare to endure the worst. The full measure of Isaiah's prophecy concerning the "Suffering Servant" must be accomplished, and He must "be numbered with the transgressors." [4] He uses "sword," then, here also in a metaphoric sense, for

[1] Luke xxii. 51.
[2] xxvi. 52.
[3] Cf. also John xviii. 36.
[4] Is. liii. 12.

resoluteness or fortitude in the face of danger. It is true they misunderstand and take Him literally, and produce two swords. Frustrated again in His repeated efforts to make them understand the necessity for His vicarious suffering in fulfilment of prophecy, He drops the subject with the words, "It is enough." This is not wholly satisfying as an explanation, but it is the best that can be given at this distance.[1]

It is beyond doubt that there were among Jesus' followers those who fondly hoped and expected Jesus would one day assume the insurrectionary rôle. A very common explanation of Judas' betrayal is that it was a misguided effort on his part to force Jesus' hand and compel Him to proclaim Himself a militant or apocalyptical Messiah. The resultant catastrophe led him to utter the repentant words, "I have sinned in that I betrayed innocent blood," and finally to suicide.[2] No uncertainty hangs about the attempt of Peter to defend Jesus at His arrest.[3] There is something pathetically human about this act of Peter in cutting off the ear of the Temple constable. It shows conclusively that these stalwart Galileans would have made good insurrectionary material. They proved it by their deeds of valour against the Romans both before and after Jesus' ministry. How they would have fought for Jesus if He had desired or permitted it is shown by their bravery in the national cause under

[1] On this passage, cf. Harnack, *Militia Christi*, 1905, p. 4; Burkitt, *Gospel History and its Transmission*, 1906, p. 141 f.; Moffatt, *Dict. of Apostolic Church*, 1918, vol. ii. p. 646, article "War"; on the whole subject of the attitude of Jesus and early Christianity towards the use of force, see Cadoux, *The Early Christian Attitude to War*, 1919; Windisch, *Der messianische Krieg und das Urchristentum*, 1909; Kirby Page, *The Sword or the Cross*, 1921.

[2] Matt. xxvii. 3–10. [3] John xviii. 10.

Judas of Gamala at the time of the enrolment and the way in which they died by their own hands under Eleazar rather than surrender at Masada after their revolt was already lost by the fall of Jerusalem.[1] Evidently Jesus' followers were a continual source of temptation to Him. They shared the prevailing national expectations concerning the Messiah, and were unable to understand His real programme. They were ever present with their national-political aspirations and their suggestions that this was His proper rôle.

Some examples of this militant Messianism of the disciples have already been discussed. It revealed itself in their desire to call down fire from heaven on the inhospitable Samaritans,[2] in the request of the sons of Zebedee to sit on His right hand and on His left,[3] in the effort recorded by John to take Him by force and make Him a king.[4] The suggestion lay behind every demand of the Pharisees to show them a sign, for "the miraculous sign was the legitimation of the Messianic warrior."[5] It was the presupposition implied in their inquiry whether it was lawful to pay tribute to Cæsar.[6] The air of Palestine was full of revolution. Jesus met it constantly within and without His immediate circle. Any vacillation on His part would have been noted and advantage taken of it. He was forced to be always on His guard, always ready to repulse or rebuke the demands or insinuations of this revolutionary Messianism.

The revolutionary attitude was intimately related to the current apocalyptical expectations. "Since the

[1] Josephus, *Bell. Jud.*, vii. 9. [2] Luke ix. 51–56.
[3] Mark x. 35–45 = Matt. xx. 20–28.
[4] John vi. 14, 15.
[5] Windisch, *Der messianische Krieg*, u.s.w. p. 34.
[6] Mark xii. 13–17 = Matt. xxii. 15–22 = Luke xx. 20–26.

chief content of the Jewish hope was the dominion of the chosen people, naturally the subjugation of the other nations was central. Pre-eminent was the downfall of the ruling world power. For Daniel this world power, the fourth terrible beast, was Greek, reaching the height of its iniquity in Antiochus IV. The danger which threatened from the side of the Greek-Syrian Empire, however, soon disappeared, and in its place arose, though at first only gradually, the Roman Empire. . . . At any rate, by the time of Jesus the hate of Edom was transferred to Rome, and the enmity between Jacob and Esau became a symbol of the enmity between Judea and Rome. The prophecy of Daniel was artificially reapplied to Rome. From the New Testament period on Messianic prophecy is dominated by this opposition to Rome." [1]

Among the chief rôles of the apocalyptic Messiah was the destruction of these enemies of Israel.[2] Sometimes this was to be accomplished through the literal sword,[3] sometimes by miraculous powers, as by a "fiery stream" and "flaming breath" and "storm of sparks" proceeding out of his mouth,[4] or he is "to break the pride of sinners as a potter's vessel, with a rod of iron he shall dash in pieces all their being, and destroy the godless heathen by the word of his mouth," [5] or "the spirit of righteousness was poured out upon him, the word of his mouth killed all sinners, and all the unrighteous were destroyed before his face." [6] Very often the destruction of Israel's enemies is spiritualized into a judgment, but it has at first but a very slight ethical

[1] Bousset, *Religion des Judentums*, 1906, pp. 250 f.
[2] Cf. Volz, *Jüdische Eschatologie*, 1903, pp. 223 f.
[3] Syr. Apoc. of Baruch 72.
[4] 4 Ezra xiii. 10.
[5] Ps. Sol. xvii. 23, 24; cf. 35, 36.
[6] Enoch lxii. 2.

character. Essentially its motive is nationalistic. Israel's enemies are to be destroyed, Israel is to be miraculously preserved.[1]

Bearing this in mind, it is much easier to understand the politico-national character of the expectations of Jesus' contemporaries. It is not surprising His disciples looked for Him sometime to suddenly put off the peaceable rôle of religious and moral teacher, and declare Himself the revolutionary Messiah the apocalypses foretold; nor that the Pharisees were repelled when He failed to give them a miraculous sign that He was the divinely accredited avenger they were expecting. He baffled and disappointed them both. They could not rise to the ethical plane on which He thought and acted.

There seem to have been two things in particular which in Jesus' thinking made this militant rôle impossible. In the first place the Old Testament Scriptures which had evidently been the most formative in determining His Messianic ideal were the Prophets rather than the Psalms. It was the great ethical and religious longings and expectations of Isaiah, Amos and Micah, rather than the Davidic, warrior ideal of the Psalmist's which appealed to Him. When He turned to the Psalms it was to find in the hundred-and-tenth a testimony that the Messiah was not simply David's "son."[2] The characteristic prophetic descriptions which He applied to Himself were those of Isaiah xxxv and lxi, which represent the high-water mark of Old Testament's ethical rather than militant Messianic aspirations.[3]

The warrior ideal He seems to have rejected in the

[1] Bousset, *Religion des Judentums*, 1906, pp. 254 f. Volz, *Jüdische Eschatologie*, pp. 225 f.

[2] Mark xii. 35–37 and parallels.

[3] Cf. Matt. xi. 4 f. = Luke vii. 22 and Luke iv. 18 f.

beginning. This is the meaning of the third Temptation in Matthew's order, which evidently is a thinly-veiled reference to the possibility of securing the submission of the nations through the use of the Devil's weapons—political intrigue and the sword. It was through these that Herod the Great had won his kingdom a little more than sixty years before. They were still the methods followed by Herod's sons and grandsons to maintain or enlarge their petty principalities, and by their Parthian and Arab neighbours with whom they quarrelled to the eastward. Dwarfing all these examples was that of the little city-state in Italy which by the same measures relentlessly applied had become the mistress of the world. There was no lack of analogies for the successful application of the Devil's methods. But Jesus' ear was deaf to their allurements. However, the same temptation recurred when the populace sought to make Him king and lay behind all the demands for a sign on the part of His opponents to whom the moral and spiritual appeal He made was unconvincing.[1] To them all, disciples, populace, and rulers, Jesus appeared unpatriotic, unmindful of His people's glorious past and their present degrading subjection to Rome. Every instinct for liberty and patriotism, all analogies from their previous history, even all the religious sanctions of their apocalyptic writings seemed to cry for war against Rome, either by force of arms or devouring, devastating miracle.

"But from Jesus," as Bousset well says,[2] "this political-national movement was totally absent." The "meek," not the Jews, were to inherit the earth, and the "peace-makers," not the warriors, were to be God's

[1] Cf. Mark viii. 11 and parallels; Luke xxiii. 8; John ii. 18; vi. 30.
[2] *Jesu Predigt in ihrem Gegensatz zum Judentum*, 1892, p. 82.

sons.[1] Not those who hate God's enemies "with a perfect hatred" are commended, but those who "love their enemies" and "pray for those that persecute them."[2] Everywhere the antithesis is set upon a moral rather than a national plane, and the victory foreseen is spiritual and not military. The victorious Kingdom is the "rule of God," not a world-empire of the Jews, ethical and not nationalistic in character, and the God whose rule it realized was the universal Father of all, not a cruel and vindictive Jewish tribal deity.

The second fact which made the insurrectionary rôle impossible for Jesus was that He evidently early came to regard vicarious suffering as a fundamental element in the Messianic ideal. It is the view of some prominent New Testament scholars that He attained this wholly original view through the conviction that the passages in Isaiah concerning the Suffering Servant of Jehovah were Messianic.[3] This was something entirely new to His contemporaries, and was never wholly understood by them. But from the beginning of His ministry Jesus seems to have accepted this vicarious suffering of Jehovah's Servant as an essential part of His Messianic vocation.

The voice from heaven at the Baptism, which may well reflect a subjective experience of Jesus, combines a Davidic Messianic prophecy with a reminiscence of the "beloved" servant.[4] The Temptation, as we have seen, was a conflict of Messianic ideals. Jesus won the victory through the choice of the way involving

[1] Matt. v. 5, 9. [2] Matt. v. 44.

[3] Cf. H. A. A. Kennedy, *Expository Times*, vol. xix. pp. 346 f., 394 f., 442 f., 487 f. (1907–8). E. F. Scott, *The Kingdom and the Messiah*, 1910, pp. 217 f.; Garvie, *Studies in the Inner Life of Jesus*, 1907, pp. 119 f.

[4] Ps. ii. 7 and Is. xlii. 1.

suffering service. Early in the ministry the discussion concerning fasting[1] brings out Jesus' conviction that one day the Bridegroom shall be "taken away." Jesus had read in the anguish and suffering of the figure of Isaiah's Servant a premonition of His own fate.

Most fully is this connection between suffering and Messiahship brought out in the discussions at and after Cæsarea Philippi.[2] In all these passages it is the "Son of Man," the apocalyptic Messiah, who must suffer and be put to death. In the first Jesus intentionally leads up to the disclosure which comes as an unbelievable absurdity to His astonished disciples. They evidently were entirely unprepared for any such revolutionary conceptions concerning the Messiah's function. Nor does this prepare them. The request of the Sons of Zebedee to sit on His throne soon follows and is closely connected with the third of these predictions. It indicates how little His words had penetrated beneath their preconceptions. Jesus therefore explains more fully than ever before what Messianic kingship involved. He disabuses them of their illusions. If they wish to share His throne they must be willing to drink of His cup, they must be prepared to be baptized with His baptism. Kingship in the new Messianic order was not a call to lordship or high renown. It was not by subduing men's wills by force, nor by overawing them into submission by the pomp and circumstance of authority, nor was it even by beguiling them through lordly benefactions that kingship was to be won and exercised.[3] But it was rather through lowly ministry and service, through suffering and sacrifice that shrank not from

[1] Mark ii. 18–21.
[2] Mark viii. 31 f.; ix. 30 f.; x. 32 f. and parallels.
[3] As in Luke's account, xxii. 25.

even the fullest measure of devotion—as when a man gives his best, his very self, for the redemption of his friend. "For the Son of Man"—the apocalyptic Messianic King—"came not to be ministered unto, but to minister, and to give His life a ransom for many." [1]

It is altogether probable that Jesus chose this apocalyptic title "Son of Man" just because it could be made to indicate better than "Messiah" (which He avoided) the unwarlike character of His rule. If the phrase originated in the figure of "one like unto a son of man" in Daniel,[2] to whom "there was given dominion, and glory and a kingdom," then there is implied a direct contrast with the bestial type of world-empire symbolized by the "four beasts" of the earlier part of the vision. The title Messiah and Son of David were associated with the ideas of a political and military conqueror. "Son of Man" suggested the "humane" and peaceable character of the rule Jesus interpreted as the truly Messianic. With this figure also the concept of vicarious suffering was combinable, as it was not with "Messiah" or "Son of David." The "Son of Man" might attain His exaltation and secure the deliverance of His people through suffering and death. There were at least no expressly contradictory associations here as there were in the case of the other titles. "Son of Man" was indefinite, though still probably Messianic. Jesus could therefore fill it with His own content, and make it serve as a term to convey the new ideas for which He was striving to secure recognition as Messianic.

It is worthy of note also that Jesus did not restrict this idea of Messianic suffering to Himself. It was no

[1] Mark x. 45 and parallels. [2] vii. 13, 14.

peculiarity of His personal Messianic office. After the first prediction of His Passion, He immediately continues: "If any man would come after me let him deny himself and take up his cross and follow me. For whosoever would save his life shall lose it, and whosoever shall lose his life for my sake and the Gospel's shall save it. For what doth it profit a man to gain the whole world and forfeit his life? For what should a man give in exchange for his life?" [1] Here is taught unmistakably that what God ordained for the Messiah He has ordained also for His followers. The suffering was not in any sense restricted to the Messiah. His suffering did not set them free. On the contrary, if they joined Him on this Messianic enterprise they must suffer too. They were then a part of the vicarious "remnant," through whose suffering the Kingdom was to come. Evidently from Jesus' own words there is not simply one cross in Christianity, but as many crosses as there are Christians.

Still more pointedly is this disclosed in Jesus' counter question to the Sons of Zebedee: "Are ye able to drink the cup that I drink? Or to be baptized with the baptism that I am baptized with? And they said unto Him, we are able. And Jesus said unto them, the cup that I drink ye shall drink, and the baptism that I am baptized withal shall ye be baptized." [2] Association with Him has its price. It is a draught of His cup, a sealing with His seal. Fellowship in the Kingdom means fellowship in suffering. Jesus takes a truly ethical stand on suffering as the price of participation in the benefits of the Kingdom. As He regarded those benefits as moral, they could not be dispensed arbitrarily. By no moral alchemy could bad men be accounted good.

[1] Mark viii. 34–37. [2] Mark x. 38, 39.

Belief in the "good news," or in Him as Messiah unaccompanied by a moral transformation of character into harmony with the moral ideals of the Kingdom was unavailing. "Not every one that saith unto me, Lord, Lord, shall enter into the kingdom of heaven; but he that doeth the will of my Father who is in heaven." [1] In like manner redemptive suffering and service was required of all. "For whosoever would save his life shall lose it, and whosoever shall lose his life for my sake and the Gospel's shall save it." Salvation is conditioned upon sacrifice, and the context shows this is specifically taking up a cross and following Christ. To the same effect is the saying, "Whosoever doth not bear his own cross, and come after me, cannot be my disciple. For which of you desiring to build a tower doth not first sit down and count the cost, whether he have wherewith to complete it?" [2] It is no holiday excursion—this winning of the Kingdom. It is a costly enterprise, upon which no one should embark who has not fully counted the cost. Nor is suffering an accident, an adventitious incident in the achievement of its victory. It is an essential requisite of character, an indispensable condition of the right to rule. "Whosoever shall become great among you, shall be your servant, and whosoever would be first among you shall be bondservant of all. For verily the Son of Man came not to be served but to serve, and to give His life a ransom for many." [3] In this statement the disciple's life of service is put on the same plane as His own, and His ransom-death is to be the example and incentive for similar self-sacrifice and abnegation. If the Son of Man's sacrifice

[1] Matt. vii. 21 f.; cf. Luke vi. 46.
[2] Luke xiv. 27 f.; cf. Matt. x. 37, 38.
[3] Mark x. 43–45.

is redemptive, so is the disciple's. There is a moral connection. It lies in the very nature of salvation itself.

Where did Jesus get this most original and revolutionary doctrine? From the Prophet probably, as we have already said. But was this suffering regarded by Him as simply a mechanical fulfilment of the Messianic prophecy? From the Scriptures it "behooved" the Christ to suffer, therefore to imitate the prophetic model, suffering must be the Messiah's lot? It does not seem so. His picture of God in the parable of the Prodigal Son partakes of the same character. God suffers also with and for His erring children. The very plan of Messianic suffering is attributed by Jesus to God when, in rebuking Peter, He says, "Thou mindest not the things of God, but the things of men." [1] The "things of God" required a suffering Messiah. Surely Moffatt is right here when he says: [2] "To choose the path leading to the cross is to *mind the things of God*, i.e. to act upon His motives and to sympathize practically with His aim. When Jesus introduced into the conception of the apocalyptic Son of Man the startling function of suffering, He was implicitly revolutionizing the entire scheme of Messianic eschatology. When He showed that He must go forward on this line, that it was the only divine course to take, the only course open to anyone who understood the real purpose and method of God, He was giving an interpretation of the divine spirit which controlled the kingdom." To Jesus, therefore, the necessity for a suffering Messiah grew out of the very nature of God and the universe He had made. He obeyed a moral, not a mechanical

[1] Mark viii. 33.
[2] *Theology of the Gospels*, 1913, p. 107.

necessity. Military revolution, coercive force were outlawed by the very nature of God and His treatment of men. Revolution and force therefore were to Jesus non-moral ways of achieving superficial ends, and could not belong to the realization of the Kingdom of that God who sought men's hearts and who loved even His enemies. For characteristic of Him was that "He maketh His sun to rise on the evil and the good, and sendeth rain on the just and the unjust." [1] The words of Walter Rauschenbush are deeply significant. "The non-resistance of Jesus, so far from being a strange or erratic part of His teaching, is an essential part of His conception of life and of His God-consciousness. When we explain it away or belittle it we prove that our spirit and His do not coalesce." [2]

If Jesus saw, then, that the redemptive character of suffering was a part of the "purpose and method of God," He could not omit it from the programme of the Kingdom for His disciples any more than for Himself. It was a part of that divine "perfection" which must be the object of all human aspiration and attainment. This is only a religious way of saying in modern language that it is a "cosmic principle," axiomatic to all moral as well as biological progress. Atonement, then, was no isolated and mechanical phenomenon in the programme of the Kingdom. It was there as the climax of a universal development; the moral requirement and prerequisite for a better world.

It is not surprising therefore that Jesus refused to be beguiled into the revolutionary rôle. He sought a more far-reaching victory than the sword could give, and He made use of no temporary expedients. For Him

[1] Matt. v. 45.

[2] *A Theology for the Social Gospel*, 1917, p. 263.

the end did not justify the means—for no high end can ever really be achieved by unworthy means. They always fall short of the intended goal. He was too clear-eyed a moralist to imagine ethical results could be achieved by unethical procedure. He knew too well God's inevitable moral order. "All they that take the sword," He said, "shall perish by the sword." [1] He chose to set the struggle upon a higher plane. We have seen all along His emphasis upon inner attitude, rather than outward conduct, as the standard of morality. He could not be satisfied with a weapon which compelled only bodily obedience and failed to reach the soul. Fear, constraint, compulsion do not win the submission of men's inner life. They rather antagonize it. Jesus' programme involved the conversion of the inner motives of action rather than the compulsion of the acts themselves. It required therefore different weapons. The ones He chose were more difficult to wield and more costly to Himself. They were slower and less obvious, but they alone were effective. "I, if I be lifted up from the earth [on the cross] will draw all men unto myself." "Except a corn of wheat fall into the earth and die it abideth by itself alone, but if it die it beareth much fruit." [2] The issue has proved that Jesus was right. His were mightier weapons than the sword For "the foolishness of God [a crucified Messiah] is wiser than men, and the weakness of God is stronger than men." [3]

But although Jesus' programme did not include force, was it any the less revolutionary—in a political as well as a religious sense? Would the established government and the Roman and Jewish administration of Judea

[1] Matt. xxvi. 52. [2] John xii. 32, 24.
[3] 1 Cor. i. 25.

be unaffected by the programme He had launched? We fail to attribute to Jesus mental sanity if we imagine He "steadfastly set His face to go up to Jerusalem" with no considered plan. He could not have been ignorant or unmindful of what the success of His programme would involve in the readjustment of the social, ecclesiastical and political forces in Jerusalem. Professor Bacon is right in his contention that Jesus was no "quietist." "Pharisaism required only a scrupulous obedience to God's law, while waiting for Him to act. Now if Jesus approved of this submissive quietism, why did He leave the fields in which the good seed of the gospel of peace was already covering the barren soil with new verdure of promise, to engage in mortal combat at Jerusalem with the rival powers of Sadducean hierarchy and Roman domination? The question why Jesus took this fateful step has not been solved by modern interpreters who conceive of Him as a man of words rather than of action—not merely unworldly, but altogether other-worldly. That critic is anything but a historical interpreter who seeks to obliterate such small traces of really political action on the Master's part as have been permitted to remain by ancient evangelists; for the ancient interpreter was supremely concerned to prove in the face of suspicious imperial powers that the violent act of Pilate had been utterly without justification in the conduct of Jesus." [1]

[1] "Christus Militans" in the *Hibbert Journal*, xvi. p. 542 f. (July 1918). Professor Bacon's article is not well named. The future and hesitating militarism of Jesus, justifying the use of force after His death and "as an extreme and last resort" (p. 554), is all deduced from a mistaken and unsupported interpretation of Luke xxii. 35–38. The main argument of the article really proves only that Jesus consciously went up to Jerusalem to settle the issue with the authorities, and admits that the weapons He used were purely moral and spiritual.

Those who take such an "other-worldly" view of Jesus appeal to His reply to Pilate: "My kingdom is not of this world: if my kingdom were of this world, then would my servants fight, that I should not be delivered to the Jews."[1] They think this passage settles the question. But the case is not so simple. The Fourth Evangelist, spiritualizing though his method is, never understood these words as referring to a kingdom beyond the grave. They imply simply the divine origin and eschatological character of the Kingdom,[2] and they fall into complete harmony with the accounts in the Synoptic Gospels of Jesus' utterances in His trial before the Jewish authorities. When questioned by the High Priest there regarding His Messiahship (and perhaps regarding His alleged prediction of His destruction of the Temple), Jesus replies: "Ye shall see the Son of Man sitting at the right hand of power and coming with the clouds of heaven."[3] This is a quotation from Daniel, and its context clearly shows that the Kingdom to be established by Jesus was intended to destroy and replace the kingdoms of the world. The prophecy of Daniel continues:[4] "And there was given Him [the Son of Man] dominion and glory and a kingdom, that all the peoples, nations, and languages shall serve Him; His dominion is an everlasting dominion which shall not pass away and His kingdom that which shall not be destroyed." Jesus' quotation, then, is a very explicit claim that He as Messiah was intending to set up a new Kingdom, which should replace the rule of the High Priests at Jerusalem and the Roman Cæsar and his procurator at Cæsarea. Just as Daniel had elsewhere

[1] John xviii. 36.
[2] Cf. Zahn, *Evangelium des Johannes*, 1908, *in loco*.
[3] Mark xiv. 62. [4] Dan vii. 14.

prophesied more explicitly :[1] "And in the days of those kings shall the God of Heaven set up a kingdom which shall never be destroyed, nor shall the sovereignty thereof be left to another people ; but it shall break in pieces and consume all these kingdoms."[2] Whether Jesus thought of all this as happening in the near future or as indefinitely postponed does not matter in the least. The point is Jesus predicted the downfall of Jerusalem and Rome, and the substitution in their place of a new order of society which He called the "Kingdom of God."

This Kingdom in Jesus' teaching, though not primarily social or political, had important social and political implications. Going back ultimately to the concept of the Theocracy, it denoted the "reign of God" directly over the hearts and lives of men. But though it had this subjective foundation, it included also an objective realization in society. It was a "realm" as well as a "reign" of God, and implied a transformation of all social and political relations and institutions into harmony with the divine will.

Jesus could not help, therefore, being conscious of the opposition between the Kingdom of God and the state as then constituted. This conflict may have been thought of largely on the eschatological plane, yet it was far from being wholly there. Jesus directly contrasts the moral principles of the two. These Gentile kingdoms are based upon the lordship of might and oppression ; His is built upon the principle of the lordship of service.[3] Though the conflict might be conceived of as a part of the great struggle of the "ages," it is

[1] Dan. ii. 44 f.
[2] Cf. Jesus' probable allusion to this passage also in Luke xx. 18.
[3] Mark x. 42–45 = Matt. xx. 25–28 = Luke xxii. 25–27.

indeed a question open to serious doubt whether Jesus ever accepted the "two-age eschatology." [1] Certainly, as we have already said, He was no mere "quietist." He believed in taking His share in the conflict, and had taken it from the first. His words in reply to John the Baptist [2] show He regarded His Messianic *acts* as more significant even than His preaching. Such miracles as He daily performed He accounted as unmistakable signs that the Kingdom of Satan was broken—"the strong man" already bound, and "a stronger" engaged in despoiling his goods.[3] When the seventy return and report that the demons are subject to them, Jesus says: "I saw Satan fall as lightning from heaven." [4] He felt confident the victory was already potentially won, and gave to His followers authority "over all the power of the enemy." Therefore, when He healed the bent old woman He regarded her restoration as the joyous release of a prisoner who had been "bound by Satan these eighteen years." [5] In all these passages, though, two supernatural orders may be conceived of as ultimately in conflict, each of them has a corresponding objective realization in the natural world, and important issues in the struggle are being determined by what happens on the earth. In the Johannine passage last discussed He "had come into the world," He tells Pilate, "to bear witness to the truth." [6] This witness consisted in much more than mere words. His self-determined journey up to Jerusalem to the last Passover was to bring this witness to a climax. His attack on the Temple sacrifices, His denunciation and defiance of the

[1] Cf. Burton's note in his *Commentary on Galatians*, 1920, pp. 430 f.
[2] Matt. xi. 4–6 = Luke vii. 22, 23; cf. also Luke iv. 18–21.
[3] Mark iii. 22–27 = Matt. xii. 24–29 = Luke xi. 14–22.
[4] Luke x. 18. [5] Luke xiii. 16. [6] John xviii. 37.

authorities in the parables of the two sons, the wicked husbandmen and the marriage of the king's son, the scathing woes against the Pharisees, His fearless defiance of arrest, His unflinching confession of Messiahship before the High Priest—all were purposeful acts in witness to the truth. It was no "passive" resistance to evil He was offering. He was "turning" actively "the other cheek"—prepared to take the consequences. No doubt He may have thought there was still a chance that God would intervene or the people acknowledge His claims, but the conviction, borne in upon Him by the death of John, by long experience of Israel's hardness of heart, and especially by long pondering upon the passages of the Suffering Servant, that the road to victory lay through suffering and death, was ever dominant. There were hours of uncertainty and inexorable temptation. This is the meaning of Gethsemane. But the cup which the Father offered Him He was prepared to drink. The weapon His hand was resolutely reaching out to grasp was not a sword, but one far more invincible, before which the last stronghold of the enemy must fall. It was the atoning cross.

How He thought of the cross as triumphant we are not told. But the "doctrine of the Cross" He had already formulated into a universal principle, applicable to His followers as well as Himself.[1] It was no matter of momentary expediency, occasioned by a conspiracy of circumstances, nor the result of an isolated divine decree by which "one man should die for the people." It was a universal principle. He had traced it back to the will if not the very nature of God Himself.[2] This is ultimate. We cannot carry it farther. The problem resolves itself into whether or not we are willing

[1] Mark viii. 34–38. [2] Mark viii. 33.

to acknowledge that Jesus in this principle has discovered the secret of the interpretation of life. How far do His inferences correspond with reality? To what extent may "the light of the knowledge of the Glory of God" be said to shine "in the face of Jesus Christ"?

But there remains the question of Jesus' allegiance to Cæsar. Was He the admiring and loyal adherent that Paul appears to have been from Romans xiii. 1–7? This question also is supposed to be settled by a superficial application of the sentence, "Render unto Cæsar the things that are Cæsar's and unto God the things that are God's."[1] There are few passages in the Bible which have been more often misapplied. The evangelists tell us it was not a sincere question of the Pharisees and Herodians which opened the discussion, but was intended to "catch Him in His talk." Jesus indicated that He appreciates this because He begins His reply, "Why tempt ye me?" He is not therefore intending seriously to define the limits of Church and State, nor to enthrone permanently the divine right of established governments—even though they be as bad as Cæsar's! Jesus' reply is in reality a clever avoidance of the dilemma they had put to Him. If He answered it was lawful to pay tribute to Rome, His patriotism as a Jew to His own oppressed and exploited nation was put under suspicion and His prestige with the people endangered. If He replied that tribute was unlawful, He faced the charge of treason before the Roman officials.

But Jesus had no intention of being caught. On the contrary, He skilfully turns the tables on His questioners. The first clause, "Render unto Cæsar the things that are Cæsar's," places tribute-paying in

[1] Mark xii. 13–17.

its proper perspective. It was not a religious question whether they paid it or not—as many Jews maintained in His day, who felt the payment of tribute to foreign princes was treason to the God and King of Israel. The presence of the imperial head on the Roman gold and silver coins was also a constant offence to strict Jews as a transgression of the Second Commandment. It was almost equivalent to what the "mark of the beast" signified to the author of the Apocalypse.[1] But Jesus gives evidence of no such offence. He finds rather in the image and superscription a token that all this heathen money was the Emperor's property. The pious Jew need not, therefore, have scruples about paying it. The real point and sting of Jesus' reply, however, lay in the second clause, "Render unto God the things that are God's." Here was a form of "tribute" about which Pharisees and Herodians were strangely indifferent. Here was a supreme moral and religious obligation they consistently ignored. Jesus' counter is therefore a searching condemnation of their whole unspiritual programme, and a ringing call to religious and moral, rather than political and national, conceptions of the Kingdom of God. It is a mistake to find here an intentional legitimation of the divine right and permanent authority of the state and the fundamental separation of the spheres of the civil and religious. Jesus' saying had no such intention.[2]

Jesus evidently had no high regard for Gentile governments and their autocratic and oppressive measures with subject peoples. He holds them all up to rebuke and scorn in the passage already mentioned,[3] in which

[1] Cf. Rev. xiii. 16; xiv. 9; xx. 4.

[2] Cf. the fearless and convincing discussion by Weinel, *Die Stellung des Urchristentums zum Staat*, 1908, p. 8 f.

[3] Mark x. 42–45 = Matt. xx. 25–28.

He contrasts their "lordship" with the principle of "service" which should pertain in His kingdom. The version of Luke adds the delicious ironical touch, "And they that have authority are called benefactors. But ye shall not be so." [1] No, they should not be like the selfish Seleucid and Ptolemaic monarchs who styled themselves "Saviours" and "Benefactors," nor even the great Emperor Augustus, who had been given a like title. They were appointed to a "kingdom"—but it was one where men ruled and judged in proportion to their service: it was a kingdom over men's hearts, a ministry and allegiance of love.

Jesus had no illusions about the glories and beneficence of Rome. In His view of history it was a part of the passing world-order. Like Assyria, Babylon, Persia and Greece, it too was to be smitten by "the stone" which was "cut out of the mountain without hands." To Rome, therefore, Jesus felt no manner of allegiance. If "the children" of the Kingdom were "free" from obligation to the Temple, which He recognized as God's house, how much more from fealty to the usurping Gentiles? [2]

[1] Luke xxii. 25.

[2] All this is well put by Loisy, *Les Évangiles Synoptiques*, vol. i. p. 231, "Sans doute les élus du royaume ne dépendront d'aucune puissance humaine, la servitude que les nations font peser sur Israël sera détruite, il ne restera aucune place pour l'autorité de César dans la cité de Dieu; mais Dieu luimeme fera la substitution de sa royauté à celle des hommes. Le respect de Jésus pour les autorités constituées est ainsi tout négatif. Dans sa réponse à la question du tribut, il n'entendait aucunement consacrer le droit de César comme un principe de la société à venir. Il est impossible que César n'appartienne pas à l'économie providentielle des choses de ce monde; il y appartient comme Sennacherib et Nebuchodonosor; il n'appartient pas à l'économie définitive due règne de Dieu, et son pouvoir tombera, comme il convient, avec celui de Satan, dont il est, à certains égards, le représentant."

As we have indicated already, Jesus' programme contained no place for the use of coercion, nor was the political domination of Rome the evil from which His people were suffering most. He did not turn therefore to insurrection as the way out. His course was consciously revolutionary, but He was not a revolutionist. He did not draw the sword against the authority of Jerusalem or of Rome. Nevertheless His Messianic programme included the downfall of both of them and the establishment in their place of a new social order and authority—that of the Kingdom of God. He did not, therefore, recognize the authority of either Jerusalem or Rome. He was no "loyal citizen" in the modern sense. For Jewish national liberty He was not concerned. To God and the new order of His Kingdom His whole loyalty was given. Other things in comparison were matters of indifference. He might appear a fanatic or a rebel and die as a consequence on the cross—He would be loyal still; through His very suffering God had revealed in the Suffering Servant of Isaiah that His Kingdom would surely come.

In these attitudes of Jesus lie far-reaching implications for to-day. The war has brought an intensification of nationalisms. Patriotism has been elevated into an "ethnolatry" (nation-worship). The salute to the colours in military praxis has intentionally all the solemnity of a religious exercise. The flag is the symbol of the ultimate loyalty, and Stephen Decatur's words, "My country—may she always be right—but my country right or wrong," are sometimes regarded as the sum and substance of human responsibilities. The state stands above individual moralities. Her decision is the ultimate test of what is right and wrong.

There was a sense in which Rome was more than a

nation. She represented more the idea of internationalism than nationalism. Her borders enclosed practically the known world. She achieved a unification of heterogeneous races which perhaps has never been equalled. Certainly the peoples inhabiting the littoral of the Mediterranean have never felt themselves so fully one before or since. The idea of that unity was so tremendous, it lasted until Napoleon. It made the Papacy possible, and contributed largely to the idea of a Universal Church. Because of it, Rome has become "The Eternal City."

But Rome represented an imperialism rather than a genuine internationalism. Her unity was based on military organization and Greek culture. Emperor worship could not disguise her moral and spiritual bankruptcy. As a matter of fact, it represented the deification of the Empire rather than the Emperor, and was an expedient to rivet an artificial loyalty upon a conquered world.

But Rome met a stronger loyalty in the new religion of the Galilean peasant whom she had not unwittingly put to death. The Book of Revelation is a piercing cry of protest against this idolatrous demand to bow the knee to Cæsar. Empire and Emperor worship are denounced as antichrist, and the battle is joined between the hosts of righteousness and the Roman imperial idea —the resurrected Babylon, the heir and successor of all the bestial empires of Daniel's vision.[1] For two centuries the bloody struggle lasted, and then Christianity won the formal victory, only to lose its substance through the subjugation of the Church, after all, to the imperial idea.

[1] A striking recognition of the economic aspects of Rome's rule is revealed in Rev. xviii. 11–20.

We are still faced with the old conflict of loyalties. Modern nationalisms and imperialisms, like their predecessors, tolerate no rival allegiances. It is still a question who is "Lord"—Cæsar or Christ. The subject must make his choice. What shall the Christian do when he knows his country is wrong? when her professions of unselfish idealism are palpably a "cloak of covetousness," and her imperialism an extenuation of exploitation?

On July 17th in the year 180, at Carthage, six Christians, three men and three women, stood before the judgment seat of the proconsul Vigellius Saturninus. The charge against them was simply that they believed in the Galilean Christ. When adjured by Rome's all-powerful representative to "swear by the genius of our Lord the Emperor" and go free, Speratus, their spokesman, replied: "I recognize no empire of this present age. . . . I recognize as my Lord the King of Kings, and the Emperor of all peoples!" [1] When did the followers of Jesus find a new allegiance?

[1] Ego imperium huius seculi non cognosco. . . . Cognosco dominum meum regem regum et imperatorem omnium gentium. Cf. Knopf, *Ausgewählte Märtyreracten*, p. 34 f., cited by Deissman, *Licht vom Osten*, 1908, p. 258.

## CHAPTER V

# JESUS AND THE ECONOMIC ORDER OF HIS DAY

The Roman peace and prosperity were expensive ; they were built on militarism and slavery. The unity of the empire was maintained by force of arms, the creative work was mostly done by forced labour. Neither was grounded in consent, and both were accompanied by great economic losses.

Slavery we may dismiss very briefly. It was accepted as axiomatic by ancient society. It determined the conditions and wages of free labour, lowering both. It led to the unnecessary specialization and multiplication of labourers, and so tended to decrease productivity. It corrupted the morals of master and servant, and was as truly the "open sore" of antiquity as of the Africa of Livingstone.

Yet it was much less common among the Jews of Palestine than elsewhere, and was guarded by Pentateuchal regulations from being the cruel and debasing custom it was in the Greco-Roman world. Nevertheless it was everywhere essentially a violation of the inherent rights and dignity of manhood and womanhood, and was so recognized by the Essenes and Therapeutæ.[1] The amazing thing is that they seem to have been alone.

The price of the "Roman peace" was more obviously

[1] *Philo ed. Cohn and Reiter*, vi. pp. 64 f. ; Jos. *Ant.* xviii, 1, 5.

expensive than slavery—not so much for the cost of the army as for the support of the hordes of officials, bankers and speculators who lived off of the conquered territories. The conception prevailed that the provinces were the estates of the Roman people,[1] and the wealth and luxury of the capital were therefore legitimately derived from their systematic exploitation.

"All the provinces," says Cicero, "are mourning, all the free peoples are complaining; all kingdoms remonstrate with us for our covetousness and our wrongdoing; on this side of the ocean there is no spot so distant or so remote that in these latter times the lust and wickedness of our countrymen have not penetrated to it. The Roman people can no longer withstand, I do not say the violence, the arms, the warfare of all nations, but their complaints, their lamentations and their tears." [2]

These words represent the exaggeration of a great rhetorician pleading his case against a notorious offender, and they were uttered in the worst period of Roman misgovernment, but they are nevertheless all too characteristic of the general policy of exploitation conspicuous in all periods of Roman rule. The testimony of the Britons in Tacitus [3] is sufficiently eloquent: "A single king once ruled us; now two are set over us: a legate to tyrannize over our lives, a procurator to tyrannize over our property."

The fact is significant that the first Roman Census taken in Judea fell, if not at the beginning, at least in the early years of Jesus' life.[4] The Census was a survey

[1] Cicero in *Verr.* ii. 3.

[2] In *Verr.* iii. 89. [3] *Agr.* 15.

[4] This significance is not affected by the issues of the controversy over Quirinius, or the exact date of the Census.

preliminary to taxation. Enrolment meant direct and obvious incorporation into the imperial system and subjection to the yoke of its economic domination. Jesus' life was lived therefore under the first galling years of this obvious subjection, and it is not surprising He was faced during His ministry with the burning question, Is it lawful to pay tribute to Cæsar?

The purpose of these surveys was unquestionably beneficent. They enabled the emperors to avoid the irregularity and arbitrariness of the taxation of the earlier Republican period, and were a part of the broad policy of the emperors which gradually transformed the older Roman city-state and its exterior possessions into a world-empire in which the provinces enjoyed an integral and equally advantageous position with the capital. Among the imperial reforms toward this end, none was more important than the gradual substitution of a directly administered system of Imperial taxation for the old Republican renting out of the taxes to societies of *publicani*. But Judea was in no position psychologically to appreciate this. She had paid taxes to Rome since her subjugation by Pompey in 63 B.C.;[1] under Gabinus in 56, throughout Judea as well as Syria, the tax seems to have been collected by Roman *publicani*,[2] accompanied, no doubt, by the usual objectionable features. Julius Cæsar was the first to introduce reforms in 47, and in 44 decreed the ultimate abolition of the farming of taxes[3] on land and persons. This must have afforded considerable relief. But soon came

[1] Jos. *Ant.* xiv. 4, 5.

[2] Cf. Cicero, de prov. cons. 10, and Rostowzew, *Geschichte der Staatspacht in der römischen Kaiserzeit*, Philologus, Suplbd., ix. 1904, p. 476.

[3] Cf. Jos. *Ant.* xiv. 10, 5, and Rostowzew, op. cit., p. 447, where a full bibliography on this passage in Josephus is given.

the Herods, whose severe exactions, like those of Hyrkanus, were partly, if not wholly, additional to those demanded by Rome. Then under Quirinius was introduced the Roman Census. Its detailed enumeration of every individual and his property seemed symbolic of a still more obvious economic slavery. This slavery the Jews considered inconsistent with the Mosaic Law. The Septuagint adds to Deuteronomy xxiii. 17 : "None of the daughters of Israel shall be subject to tribute, nor the sons of Israel to toll." [1] As Jehovah's peculiar people, it was a sin to pay tribute to any foreign potentate. This, as we have seen, was the unexpressed presumption behind the disingenuous question of the Pharisees and Herodians to Jesus, "Is it lawful to pay tribute to Cæsar?" It is not surprising, therefore, that the Census met with active opposition from the Jewish inhabitants of Palestine.

Josephus tells of the ill-humour with which the Jews submitted to this enrolment of their names and estates under Quirinius. The majority conformed sullenly at the persuasion of Joazar, the high-priest. But many, led by Judas of Gamala, revolted, and "the daring attempt proceeded to great dimensions . . . and the nation was filled beyond description with their agitation." [2] Josephus regards Judas as the founder of a permanent revolutionary party (although he calls them "a fourth philosophic sect"), and attributes to them, in the *Antiquities* at least, all the subsequent miseries of the revolt of 66–70, as well as the tumults and chaos of the intervening years. All this vividly indicates the

[1] Even if originally meaning "initiates" (cf. Driver, *Com. on Deut., in loco*) Tertullian, de pudicit, 9; adv. Marcionem, iv. 11, shows it was later understood of tribute.

[2] *Ant.* xviii. 1, 1.

growing spirit of rebellion against Roman oppression in Jesus' day and the important rôle played as usual by economic considerations.

The precise amounts of the Roman exactions in Jesus' time are not easily determined. A little earlier, in the days of Herod the Great, and a little later under his grandson, Agrippa I, the whole of Palestine paid to them about the same sum, $2,300,000 (£460,000).[1] That this was regarded as excessive is clear from the Jews' complaints over Herod's extortion,[2] and from the petition of Syria and Judea in A.D. 17, about a decade before Jesus' ministry, that their tribute should be diminished, because they were "worn out by their burdens."[3] What proportion of the land's production was demanded we may gather from Julius Cæsar's requirement from all the country of the Jews excepting Joppa of "the fourth part of what was sown, and besides this, they are to pay the same tithes to Hyrkanus and his sons which they paid to their forefathers."[4] In addition to the land tax, there was a "head tax," sometimes based on income, sometimes a poll tax, customs charges at all frontiers and the borders of many independent cities and communes, salt tax, road and bridge tolls, etc.[5] Many of these minor duties were still farmed out to the highest bidder, who then collected or sublet the collection from the people, with the natural

[1] Jos. *Ant.* xvii. 11, 4, and xix. 8, 2. Cf. Friedländer, *Roman Life and Manners*, etc., trans. by Gough (1913), vol. iv. pp. 270 f. appendix xlv.

[2] Jos. *Ant.* xvii. 11, 2.

[3] *Tac. Annal.* ii. 42, provinciæ Syria atque Judæa, fessæ oneribus, deminutionem tributi orabant.

[4] Jos. *Ant.* xiv. 10, 6, cf. Ramsay, Hastings' *Bible Dictionary*, vol. v. p. 395.

[5] Cf. Mommsen, *Provinces of the Roman Empire*, ii. p. 187.

result that there was frequent and arbitrary extortion. This extortion is reflected in the popular hatred and contempt for the "telones" or "tax-gatherers" in the New Testament. They seem to have been a large and often wealthy class, who were socially ostracized and ranked with "sinners" because of their unpatriotic and extortionate conduct. That they were Jews and not Roman *publicani* is obvious. The duties they collected were probably not so much the customs-tax at the frontiers as the smaller contracts covering each a separate tax in the local towns and districts. They were under strict state regulation, and probably were allowed only a percentage of the amounts collected according to a regular tariff. Arrears were exacted by other officials. Nevertheless extortion was sufficiently common to make John the Baptist recognize it as the tax-gatherer's characteristic vice,[1] and their great numbers and aggravating interference in all the ordinary processes of life and business made them naturally the objects of universal hate and execration.[2]

The poor man subjected to these conditions found life extremely hard. How hard an interesting edict of Diocletian, proclaimed in A.D. 301, in the attempt to stabilize prices, abundantly shows.[3] The edict had to do especially with the East, and though about 272 years later than Jesus' death probably fairly accurately indicates economic conditions in the eastern provinces in His time. In addition to his "keep" the unskilled labourer received but 10.8 cents (6d.) a day; the bricklayer, carpenter, joiner, stonemason, baker and blacksmith,

[1] Luke iii. 13.

[2] Cf. on the whole subject, Rostowzew, op. cit. pp. 479 f. and Ramsay, Hastings' *Bible Dictionary*, vol. v. pp. 394 f.

[3] *Corpus Inscriptionum Latinarum*, vol. iii. pp. 1926–1953.

21.6 cents (1s.); the painter 32.4 (1s. 6d.). Wheat cost 33.6 cents (1s. 6d.) a bushel, barley 74.5 (3s.), rye 45 (2s.), beans 45 (2s), oats 22.5 (1s.), good wine 22.5 cents (1s.) a quart, ordinary 6 (3d.). The best oil brought 30.3 cents (1s. 3d.) per quart, second quality 18 (9d.), honey, the only sugar, best, 30.3 (1s. 3d.), second, 15 (7d.). Pork was 7.3 cents (4d.) a pound; beef, mutton, goat, 4.9 (2½d.); ham, 12 (6d.); lamb and kid, 7.3 (4d.); eggs, 5.1 cents (3d.) per dozen; butter, 9.8 (5d.); milk, 6 cents (3d.) a quart. To quote Professor Abbott,[1] as he interprets the meaning of this list, covering hundreds of articles, and compares it with the prices of to-day: "If we take the wages of the Roman carpenter, for instance, as 21 cents (1s.) per day, and add one-fourth or one-third for his 'keep,' those of the same American workman as $2.50 (9s.) to $4.00 (15s.), it is clear that the former received only a ninth or a fifteenth as much as the latter, while the average price of pork, beef, mutton and ham (7.3 cents = 4d.) was about a third of the average (19.6 cents = 11d.) of the same articles to-day. The relative averages of wheat, rye and barley make a still worse showing for ancient times, while fresh fish was nearly as high in Diocletian's time as it is in our own day. The ancient and modern prices of butter and eggs stand at the ratio of one to three and one to six respectively. For the urban workman, then, in the fourth century conditions of life must have been almost intolerable, and it is hard to understand how he managed to keep soul and body together when almost all the nutritious articles of food were beyond his means. The taste of meat, fish, butter and eggs must have been

[1] Frank Fort Abbott, *The Common People of Ancient Rome*, 1911, pp. 175 f.

almost unknown to him, and probably even the coarse bread and vegetables on which he lived were limited in amount. The peasant proprietor who could raise his own cattle and grain would not find the burden so hard to bear."

Nor had the labourer any redress from these conditions. "He could not organize to elevate his economic position, though a free man, for slave wages and slave conditions of life determined his own. In a thousand years of Rome's history there is not one labour strike recorded. He got only what the ruling powers saw fit to give him, and that usually was charity at most. In a word, he had great needs, but he had no way of exerting effective pressure upon the government to procure what he needed." [1]

It is true that conditions in Palestine in Jesus' day were prevailingly agricultural rather than urban. We think of the Jews as naturally a tradespeople, but this does not seem to have been originally the case. Juster has shown [2] the Jews were predominantly an agricultural people, even in the Diaspora as well as Palestine, until the discriminatory legislation of the Christian Emperors in the fifth century drove them into commerce. The Gospels presuppose an agricultural background, and the specialized occupations we meet with are those of the self-sufficient country village or town. Jesus' own trade as a village carpenter is a characteristic example. We have to do in the Gospels in the main with simple labourers and peasants. The employment of hired servants by Zebedee [3] in his business of fishing does

[1] Professor Tenney Frank, *An Economic History of Rome*, 1920, p. 111.

[2] Jean Juster, *Les Juifs dans l'Empire Romain*, 1914, vol. ii. pp. 291 f. Cf. Herzfeld, *Handelsgeschichte der Juden in Altertum*, 1878 (1894), pp. 271 f.

[3] Mark i. 20.

not signify more probably than the petty industry of an agricultural community—even though we hear of salted fish from the Lake of Tiberias being exported to Italy,[1] and the town of Taricheæ had its name from being the place of the "salting" or "pickling" of fish. The Greek name proves the industry was originally conducted by foreigners, and in all probability continued largely in Greek hands.[2] Wine, oil, wheat, dates and balsam were the chief articles of Palestinian export,[3] and later fine linen from Scythopolis.[4] All of these are agricultural products. The last-named is also industrial, but was undoubtedly of Gentile origin. Scythopolis was a Greek city, the only one of the Decapolis west of the Jordan. These "ten cities" were already centres of a rich intellectual and commercial life in Jesus' day. Their trade flowed through the main arteries across the Jewish territories from east of the Jordan to the ports on the Mediterranean Sea. Though the commerce with the Farther East passed to the north, through Syria rather than Palestine, a considerable trade with Arabia must have followed these more southern routes,[5] and left its mark and some of its wealth in Galilee and Judea as it passed. Part of this trade was no doubt in Jewish hands, but the great volume of it must have been controlled by Gentiles.

All of this indicates the problems of Palestine were agricultural and commercial rather than industrial, and Jesus never had to face economic situations similar to

1 Strabo xvi. 2, 45.

2 Cf. Schurer, 4th, 1907, vol. ii. p. 78.

3 Cf. Herzfeld, pp. 90 f.

4 Cf. Edict of Diocletian as above. The most expensive quality was from Scythopolis.

5 Cf. Guthe, *Die Griechisch-römischen Städte des Ostjordanlandes*, 1918, pp. 36 f.

those which to-day characterize Western society. Nevertheless, conditions of poverty were general. The ordinary foods of Jesus' companions were bread and fish,[1] and probably also eggs.[2] The use of meat for food is implied, but nowhere mentioned, in the Gospels. It was evidently rare with the common prople. Those "that wore soft raiment" and "lived delicately" were expected to be in kings' houses.[3] The great number of very small coins indicates the diminutive character of most commercial transactions and the poverty of the majority of the people.[4] "The poor" are frequently mentioned and assumed as a usual phenomenon.[5] Life was a struggle even in agricultural Palestine in the first century. The processes of agriculture were primitive and difficult. Remains of stone walls show that terraces were built on the hillsides with great expenditure of time and effort in order to retain the soil for the planting of cereals as well as vines.[6] If we think of Palestine as "flowing with milk and honey" without labour we are greatly mistaken. Its products were bought only with persistent toil and heavily taxed, so that the poor man had little left when all his dues were paid.

Yet the rich were in evidence also. Jesus watches "many rich" as they cast their gifts into the Temple treasury.[7] Josephus implies they were to be found among private individuals as well as officials.[8] Even

[1] Matt. xiv. 17 f.; xv. 36; xvii. 27; Mark vi. 38 f.; Luke ix. 13 f.; xi. 11; xxiv. 42; John vi. 9 f.; xxi. 9 f.

[2] Luke xi. 12.

[3] Matt. xi. 8 = Luke vii. 25.

[4] Cf. Geo. Adam Smith, *Ency. Bib.*, vol. iv. c. 5190.

[5] Mark xiv. 7 = Matt. xxvi. 11.

[6] Cf. Vogelstein, *Landwirtschaft in Palästina zur Zeit der Misnah*, 1894, p. 8 f.

[7] Mark xii. 41; cf. Luke xxi. 1.

[8] *Ant.* xiv. 15, 6.

after the destruction of Jerusalem they were still numerous. Among them was the famous Rabbi Akiba.[1] The extremes of wealth and poverty were therefore unquestionably evident in Palestine in Jesus' day—even if not so flagrant and so striking a contrast as in great urban communities like the Roman capital.

Luke tells us Jesus' parents offered the sacrifice of the poor at his mother's purification.[2] No doubt the significance of this can be exaggerated. Jesus' poverty was not extreme. He possessed no home of His own,[3] yet He and His companions show no evidence of penury. He seems to have always had sufficient for life's necessities. His words concerning God's fatherly care[4] must have been true in His own experience He could not commend to others what He had found inadequate for Himself.

Jesus shows an obvious sense of solidarity with the oppressed and outcast classes, but the line of cleavage does not appear to have been economic. He does not espouse the cause of the poor as against the rich. Undoubtedly Jesus saw the poverty, the injustice, the oppression of the social and economic order in which He lived. Dives and Lazarus were figures He well knew. The parable shows He felt their contrast keenly. Every detail accentuates this. The "purple," the "fine linen," the "sumptuous fare" of the rich, "the sores," the willingness to be satisfied with crumbs, the compassion of the dogs for the poor man, all prove an observation supremely alive to the unrighteousness of the situation. But Jesus does not stop short with

[1] Cf. Büchler, *Economic Condition of Judea after Destruction of the Second Temple*, 1912, pp. 36 f.

[2] Luke ii. 24. [3] Matt. viii. 20 = Luke ix. 58.

[4] Matt. vi. 25–34 = Luke xii. 22–31.

the economic aspects of it. These were only indicative of the moral problem beneath. This parable can be best understood in the light of its converse—the Good Samaritan. The presence of the miserable Lazarus at the indifferent Dives' gate was itself an indictment of the latter's character. He was proving himself no "brother" to this "neighbour" of his "who had fallen" into poverty. Dives' money was his fortunate opportunity to express his brotherhood towards Lazarus, but it was not improved. Perhaps he gave him the conventional alms. But it never occurred to the rich man to take his poor brother into his palace and bind up his sores, as the Good Samaritan did the wounds of his "neighbour," nor when these immediate needs were met to take steps to restore him to a more productive and self-respecting vocation than begging.

Jesus evidently had pondered the significance of economic conditions. Many parables show He recognized the paramount importance of money. The Pounds and Talents, the Labourers in the Vineyard, the Unjust Steward, the Wicked Husbandmen, as well as Dives and Lazarus, all turn upon the use of it. Nevertheless, it is not the interest of the economist He shows. He has no new system of economic organization to suggest. His indictments go far deeper than a denunciation of the iniquity and injustice of the present order. His interest was in the moral and spiritual values of wealth, and His unique contribution is the discovery that it is these moral values which give economics their greatest significance.

It is just here that Jesus has been misunderstood by both sides of the modern controversy. As we have seen, certain radical leaders and Christian Socialists have maintained that His interest was essentially

economic : that His programme was the espousal of the poor as against the rich—the ownership by the workers of the means of production—or a denial of the rights of private property altogether. In a word, they have contended that Jesus was a conscious socialist or communist. But it cannot be too emphatically stated that Jesus presents no systematic theory of any subject whatever, much less of economics. He was not a systematic teacher in any field, even in those of ethics and religion, where He had thought long and carefully, and whose chief topics were continually on His lips. His methods of teaching were distinctly popular and concrete. Through striking aphorisms and parabolic illustrations, through metaphors and similes, by some concrete story or exemplification, He made His meaning plain and at the same time photographed it upon the minds of His hearers. That He taught theology and ethics goes without saying, but He was not a systematic theologian nor a moralist, and to reconstruct His theology and ethic is a difficult and uncertain problem. In a far greater degree is this true of His economic statements and implications. His interest and attention were not given directly to this field at all. Only as economics carried with them moral and spiritual consequences and implications did He concern Himself with them, and there is no evidence that He had thought out any system or had consciously faced directly any of the great problems which engage the modern economist.

On the other hand, the conventional Christian usually supposes that economics have little to do with Jesus' programme. They belong to a lower, secular plane, he thinks, which makes them comparatively indifferent to it, and so the material and business interests of men, the economic organization of society, and the com-

mercial and financial relationships which exist between individuals and groups are supposed to be quite unaffected by the spiritual teaching and redemptive work of Jesus. If possible this is an even more egregious error. Jesus' programme radically affects the economic order of society. It is probably more revolutionary than any socialist or communist imagines. It cuts deeper into the foundations of all our social organizations than most modern programmes of social reform, because it includes not only a change of the social order, but of the man himself, a transformation of the very material out of which that order is made, of "human nature" itself, which economists usually assume to be an invariable and constant quantity. Fortunately, however, here the biologist and social psychologist come to the economist's rescue and show him there is nothing constant about "human nature" at all, that it has always changed, and inevitably must by further change adapt itself to its new conditions and environments if it is to survive.

We have said the parables indicate Jesus recognized the paramount importance of economics. Evidently He saw they were the test of reality, the brick and mortar with which our world is built, the material element with which men create that external structure which expresses their inner standards and aspirations. As a medium of exchange money carries with it inseparable spiritual values—like overtones in music. As these escape the notice of the untrained ear, so the moral and spiritual meaning of modern economics are unrecognized by the unawakened Christian. But our problem is—did Jesus recognize them? A superficial survey might lead one to imagine He did not.

Slavery and Rome's exploitation of her provinces were probably the most striking economic evils of Jesus'

time, yet He never directly denounces them. Both are assumed. Slavery as an institution appears as the basis for several important parables, and in one instance we meet with the cruel punishment of mutilation which was often inflicted on slaves.[1] Similarly, as we have seen when confronted with the question of Roman tribute, He refused to declare against it. That He had nothing to say expressly in condemnation of these evils is enough to show His interest as such was not in economic reform. The "inwardness" observed in all His moral teaching is consistently exemplified here.

As a matter of fact, Jesus was content to enunciate certain central moral and religious principles, pointing out some of their more immediate individual and social results, and then to leave them to work out their inevitable consequences. Or, to use His own favourite figure, He "sowed the word," and in due time, by the natural processes of growth, some day there would be a "harvest" of "sixty, eighty or a hundred fold." Thus He combines the developmental idea with the apocalyptic. Both "growth" and "harvest" belong in His view to the Kingdom.[2] We cannot believe that One who used the pedagogic method so skilfully in moulding individuals missed its application to social life.

It is proper, therefore, in seeking to know Jesus' attitude toward economic questions, to take His fundamental religious and moral principles and ask how far He saw they involved economic applications. We shall probably not exhaust His economic thinking thereby,

[1] Matt. xxiv. 51 = Luke xii. 46 ; cf. Mark xiii. 34 ; Matt. xxv. 14 f. = Luke xix. 13 f. ; Matt. xviii. 23 f. ; Luke xvii. 7 f.

[2] Cf. Mark iv. 13 f., 26 f., 30 f. and parallels ; Matt. xiii. 33 = Luke xiii. 21 and especially von Dobschütz, *Eschatology of the Gospels*, 1910, p. 125 f.

but we will at least not be liable to exaggerate it. We should also attain a better perspective in that we will recognize the ends He sought to secure were moral and spiritual rather than economic, and the values with which He dealt were personal rather than material, and therefore eternal rather than temporary. There are four of these great principles which are especially involved, whose detailed application we need to examine.

First, Jesus insists on the practical recognition of God as the universal Father. It is rather surprising to find that Jesus makes no direct reference to idolatry in the Gospels. Since the days of Maccabees the worship of heathen gods by the Jews was rare. Foreign divinities were no longer the real rivals of Jehovah. In an agricultural and commercial age, with a settled government and protected private property, riches and the power, luxury and pleasure they bought had become the practical competitors of Jehovah in the interest and affection of the people. Jesus recognized the real issue lay between the love and worship of God and the love and practical worship of "Mammon," for "Mammon" is only the Aramaic word for "riches" which Jesus used, and which our Evangelists have not translated.

We can see therefore why Jesus devotes a whole section of the Sermon on the Mount [1] to this subject. It comes immediately after the discussion of almsgiving, prayer and fasting—all of which were regarded by the Jews as forms of the worship of God. Jesus shows

[1] Evidently Matt. vi. 19–34 is a unit (cf. Votaw, *Sermon on Mount*, H.B.D., vol. v. p. 39), and its general subject is the attitude of a member of the Kingdom toward wealth. To have a "single eye" (verse 22) is to be "generous" (cf. Jas. i. 5; 2 Cor. viii. 2), to have an "evil eye" is to be "grudging" (cf. Matt. xx. 15; Prov. xxii. 9; xxiii. 6; xxviii. 22; Deut. xv. 9, and Savage, *The Gospel of the Kingdom*, 1909, p. 199).

that the worship and service of God and Mammon are mutually exclusive. If "treasure is laid up on the earth" the owner's heart will be set upon it. It will be impossible therefore for him to have invisible treasures in heaven. If we are anxious about getting food, drink and clothing for ourselves, we will seek our salvation in them. We will suppose it is their possession which gives us safety and their enjoyment which gives the real satisfaction to life. We will not realize that these things are quite incidental to the main business of doing God's will and establishing His Kingdom. A modicum of them is all that is necessary, and this must be recognized as God's gift, not our own creation; otherwise we will fail to practically acknowledge our dependence upon God and so not worship Him as our Heavenly Father.

Worship to Jesus is obviously a practical and continuous attitude. It does not consist in outward acts which are divorced from the inner spirit. That is the reason formal hypocritical almsgiving, prayer and fasting are so futile. But the pursuit of riches is worse. It is absolutely destructive to faith. It is really the acceptance of a rival salvation. It proves, we believe, that money and the material things it buys can make us "safe." We accept them as the foundations of security, and therefore bend our efforts toward their accumulation. Jesus says this is pagan. "After all these things do the Gentiles seek."[1] He is thinking obviously of the Roman imperialism and Greek commercialism. Both were based on the worship of Mammon—just as are the imperialism and commercialism of to-day. Jesus did not attack either expressly, but clearly His principle outlaws them both.

The unstable character of the salvation Mammon

[1] Matt. vi. 32; Luke xii. 30.

provides Jesus graphically points out in another connection in the parable of the Rich Fool. Just such men Jesus had met, if not in Galilee, then in the Decapolis, where already flourished prosperous and wealthy Greek cities and estates. He had seen death come unexpectedly and put an untimely end to the trust in all such forms of security. Who would enjoy the treasures the rich fool had gathered after God suddenly required of him his soul? [1] His was a salvation which evidently did not save. The man had sought riches for himself, and so was not "rich toward God"—and in God alone is there real security. Obviously this is the chief reason why it is hard for the rich to enter the Kingdom of Heaven; harder than for a camel to go through the eye of a needle—the climax of Jesus' hyperboles. The rich man can be saved from the worship of Mammon only by a miracle. With God it is possible, but, humanly speaking, it is not. The whole business of laying up money in the face of human need Jesus implies corrupts the soul.

The disciples find this a strain on their credulity. They wonder, then, who can be saved? Everybody needs money to live, and surely all must work to earn a living? It should be observed that Jesus is not talking about earning a living, but "laying up treasures." He had earned His own living, and probably supported His widowed mother.[2] He explains [3] it is anxious thought "*for the morrow*," which He condemns, not labour for to-day. To be anxious, and so to lay up treasure, is to distrust God, who clothes the lilies and feeds the birds. It is to practically deny His divine Fatherhood. It is to take our salvation into our own

[1] Luke xii. 16–21. [2] John xix. 26.
[3] Matt. vi. 34.

hands. The only proper way is to seek the Kingdom of God first, and then we shall not only obtain the Kingdom, but in addition all things needful for our earthly wants. "Your Heavenly Father knoweth that you have need of all these things." That is sufficient assurance for the future. Quite in keeping with this is the clause in the Lord's Prayer, "Give us this day our daily bread." The word translated "daily" occurs only here and is admittedly difficult, but recent scholarship rather agrees it signifies, "Give us to-day the bread *appropriate to our need*," [1] with perhaps a reference to Proverbs xxx. 8: "Give me neither poverty nor riches; feed me with the food *that is needful for me.* Lest I be full, and deny Thee, and say, Who is the Lord? Or lest I be poor, and steal, and use profanely the name of my God."

Evidently in the consummated Kingdom, as Jesus saw it, there are to be no rich men—or none richer than any other—all were to be rich in the filial enjoyment of the Father's bounty, for all were to share the blessings of the common Kingdom. In seeking the Kingdom one sought the good of all. Not bread for himself nor his family, nor even bread for everybody equally, but an organization of society which should provide and apportion the needful bread to each, and a world of men and women who should be content to receive their allotted share. For Jesus' analogy of God's Fatherhood implies as the ultimate goal of society a family relationship between men and a loving and impartial division of the Father's bounty in accordance with the individual needs of each and every child.

[1] Cf. Votaw, *Sermon on Mount*, H.B.D., vol. v. p. 36, where the literature is cited. "The petition contemplates only a simple, frugal life, enjoining trustfulness and contentment therein."

In the ideas of the ancient Hebrews God rewarded the faithful individual with long life and prosperity. Jesus never promises such a reward. He completely socializes this ideal. He promises His followers persecution, sacrifice, vicarious suffering—but ultimate victory. "It is your Father's good pleasure to give you the kingdom." And the Kingdom included the economic prosperity of all, in so far as economic prosperity is a basis for the enjoyment of those spiritual values of which the Kingdom primarily consists.

As we said in the beginning, Jesus' contribution is that He perceives the spiritual value of economics; that He saw the piling up of selfish treasure retards the Kingdom—because it is hostile to a filial attitude toward God and a brotherly relation toward men. Large wealth makes men unduly independent of others, and gives them a power over their fellows which is good for neither. They assume a mastery and an arrogance which is inconsistent with "walking humbly" before God as the Father of all. And upon the poor is enforced a servility which destroys true manhood. To be dependent upon the favour of others for the means of earning a livelihood is obviously an unwholesome condition for the majority of men. But with the means of production arbitrarily in the control of a small minority, the great mass of humanity is compelled to beg an opportunity to labour for its necessary bread. No free expression of man's god-like creative impulse is possible under such circumstances. Men become "dumb, driven cattle," stunted in soul and mind and body, unrecognizable any longer as the children of their Father in heaven, and incapable of believing that behind the inhospitable universe which harbours their miserable

existence there can possibly exist a loving Father's heart.

In the second place Jesus emphasized the unique value of the Spirit of Man. Repeatedly He compared man with the rest of creation and affirmed his superiority. He was better "than a sheep," [1] "than the birds," [2] "than many sparrows." [3] God constantly cared for him,[4] and all who served him would be rewarded.[5] "The little ones" were particularly precious, and to receive them was like receiving God Himself.[6] Nothing that man could find in this world was comparable in value to his life,[7] and he was a fool who thought it consisted in the abundance of possessions,[8] because life was more than food, and the body than what was put on it.[9] In all of these passages the economic contrast is more or less prominent. All other values are compared with man, and he is accounted as superior, as of inestimable worth. The parables of Luke xv reveal the reason—it is because man is the son of God.

Jesus does not apply this truth as fully as He did the first one. Yet it evidently underlay His reaction when the brother who had failed to receive his full share of his father's inheritance appealed to Him for redress. Jesus refused to act as a judge or a divider between them, not because He was uninterested in justice, but because He saw the appellant was setting a higher value on the inheritance than he did upon his brother. He counted

1 Matt. xii. 12. 2 Matt. vi. 26.
3 Matt. x. 31.
4 Matt. vi. 26; Luke xii. 7 f.
5 Mark x. 41 f. 6 Mark ix. 37 and parallels.
7 Mark viii. 36 f. and parallels.
8 Luke xii. 15; cf. verse 20.
9 Matt. vi. 25 = Luke xii. 23.

the estate or the hoard of money of more importance than his brother's friendship and affection. Jesus rebuked him therefore, and warned against the sin of covetousness.[1] It is a just inference that Jesus appreciated the economic bearing of this principle.

Had Jesus gone on He might have shown that this truth had important implications for Rome's exploitation of the provinces, for slavery, for the gladiatorial shows, for the social and economic position of women and children. But Jesus did not point these out—unless the case of the children be an exception, which is not wholly clear.[2] Nevertheless, Christianity has come slowly to realize the far-reaching application of this truth. The Christian Emperors abolished the gladiatorial shows; the nineteenth century recognized that slavery was inconsistent with the Christian teaching concerning the incomparable value of the personality of man; the opening years of the twentieth have brought a new recognition of the rights of women and children, and a splendid beginning in labour legislation which counts indeed a "man of more value than a sheep."

Nevertheless the revolutionary significance of this principle we have only begun to assay. Most large fortunes are made at the expense of the physical and spiritual interests of other men. The law of supply and demand is no justification for exploitation. According to this principle no man has a right to ask from the community any more than a fair remuneration for the service he himself has rendered. If he does he demands it at the expense of the vital interests of other men. What he enjoys above his share they must pay for in under-nourishment, in unsanitary houses, in increased

[1] Luke xii. 13–15.

[2] Cf. Allen, *Commentary on Matthew* on xviii. 5 f., p. 194.

disease and inadequate medical care, in insufficient leisure for normal recreation and improvement, in ignorance, and therefore in immorality, vice and crime.

Riches and poverty are not isolated economic facts; they represent vital human values. They are both at the expense of character. Human personality seems to flourish best in the fullest interdependence and mutual service, in the highest average distribution therefore of the economic goods of life. Extremes are harmful. Too much or too little wealth is alike prejudicial to a man's best self. In modern phrase Jesus would say property must be for "welfare," not for "wealth." It is no sacred and inalienable right; it must be subordinated to personality. For the spirit of man must be triumphant, it must come first with us as it did with Him.

Jesus concretely illustrates the appropriate use for wealth in the parable of the Unjust Steward. This "unrighteous Mammon" must be used to secure "friends" who will receive us into "eternal habitations" [1]—the "habitations," that is, of the "new age" in which is realized the Kingdom of God. This is symbolic language, therefore, for its devotion to the Kingdom of God, the Kingdom which consists in the Rule of God in the hearts and lives of men and implies the establishment on earth of an order in which all men shall recognize God as their Father and all mankind as their brothers. Wealth is not a private and personal possession therefore; it is a loan from God for investment in the enterprise of the Kingdom.[2] Its debt is not paid to Him when we have set aside a tenth to His service; Jesus goes far beyond the Old Testament's

[1] Luke xvi. 1–13.

[2] The same truth is taught in the parables of the Talents and the Pounds. Cf. Matt. xxv. 14–30; Luke xix. 11–27.

requirement of a tithe. All we have must be held and used for God's Kingdom. This does not mean that it shall be devoted simply to building churches, holding worship and preaching the Gospel. That is too narrow a conception of the Kingdom. All the so-called secular employments of wealth are rather to be made sacred by their conscious direction toward the realization of the Kingdom of God. Business must be purified from exploitation and motived by consideration for the public good, not private profit. Jesus' principle permits no complacent enjoyment of unequal advantages by a few at the expense of the progress of the many ; it requires rather a conscious effort to make these advantages uniform and general. No superior attainment of culture and perfection by a privileged aristocracy can excuse in the light of Christ's principles the existence of an exploited and degraded multitude. It proposes also the recognition of personal and spiritual values rather than impersonal and material ones, as is so usual in the present organization of society. Its aim is evidently not the multiplication and equalization of creature comforts so much as the liberation of men's spirits from the slavery of fear and poverty, of ignorance and superstition, the eradication of the corroding influence of suspicion, greed and hate. It consists, therefore, as Paul said,[1] in "righteousness and peace, and joy in the Holy Spirit"—in the sense, that is, of the presence and power of God. The devotion of money to these ends does not mean therefore its renunciation through a vow of poverty, but rather its complete employment in the great enterprise of making men purer and better ; of eliminating those ideas and motives and prejudices upon which is based the unjust and iniquitous economic and

[1] Rom. xiv. 17.

social organization of the present; and above all, in experimenting constructively in business, politics and diplomacy toward the erection of a new co-operative commonwealth, in which more and more completely may be realized these principles of the Kingdom of God.

A third principle of Jesus is the love of others as one loves one's self. Summarily stated, this is the Golden Rule. "All things therefore whatsoever ye would that men should do unto you, even so do ye also unto them; for this is the law and the prophets." [1] This formula is a summary and conclusion of a section of the Sermon on the Mount on our attitude to others. In particular censorious judgment is condemned.[2] But the words hark back, as the reference to the law and prophets shows, to the whole previous discussion of the relation of the new teaching to the Mosaic Law.[3] Anger, lust, falsehood, revenge and hatred are all forbidden because they are contrary to this principle that we should love our neighbour as ourself. Jesus makes this central in all His teaching as to what should be the normal relations of men. It is for Him the sum of the Law and the prophets as to human relations.

Here, too, undoubtedly Jesus saw an economic bearing. In His similar summary of the commandments into the law of love in answer to the lawyer's question, "What shall I do to inherit eternal life," Jesus explains what it is to love one's neighbour through the illustration of the parable of the Good Samaritan.[4] Here an economic as well as a personal expression of love is explicitly included. The Good Samaritan pays the innkeeper two denarii, the value of two days' labour,

[1] Matt. vii. 12; cf. Luke vi. 31.
[2] Matt. vii. 1–5.
[3] Matt. v. 17–48.
[4] Luke x. 25–37.

for the care of the man who fell among robbers, and promises as much more as may be necessary to put the unfortunate fellow on his feet. This is a very clear statement that love expresses itself through economics. Indeed, if money is only a medium of exchange for service and valuable goods, then money is only the longer arm and larger hand of personal service. The Good Samaritan had to go about his business, but his money continued his ministration and expressed his love, even though he himself was absent.

The incident of the Rich Young Ruler teaches the same lesson. To his question what he should do to inherit eternal life, Jesus summarizes the second half of the decalogue,[1] and on his assurance that he had kept all these commands from his youth, Jesus said: "One thing thou lackest: go, sell whatsoever thou hast, and give to the poor, and thou shalt have treasure in heaven, and come follow me." Clearly the young man had not discovered that he could use his money in loving his fellow-men. Unfortunately he saw no connection between these Mosaic Commandments, all of which concern the loving interrelations of men, and his great possessions.

The Gospel according to the Hebrews, which in some instances embodies undoubtedly genuine Gospel traditions, makes the following interesting addition to the canonical accounts:[2] "But the rich man began to scratch his head, and it did not please him. And the Lord said unto him, How do you say I have fulfilled the law

[1] Mark x. 17–31 = Matt. xix. 16–30 = Luke xviii. 18–30. If the "neutral" text of Mark is correct, Jesus adds "do not defraud" —a further economic touch.

[2] Cf. Origen, *Commentary on Matthew* xv. 14 and Preuschen, *Antilegomena*, 1905, p. 6.

and the prophets, since it is written in the law, 'Love thy neighbour as thyself,' and behold your many brothers, sons of Abraham, are clothed with filth and dying of hunger, and your house is full of many good things, and nothing at all goes out from it to them?" This may be only an early comment on the incident, for it does not go beyond what really lies hidden between the lines, but it shows the failure of the Rich Young Ruler was very early interpreted to be economic indifference to the poverty and wretchedness about him. The same teaching we have found in the parable of Lazarus. Jesus' principle of love, therefore, He unmistakably pointed out, had unavoidable economic implications. It obligated men to do what they could for the relief of suffering humanity by the dedication to it of their economic resources. The manner of this dedication is not specified, nor was it uniform. He evidently did not command all His followers to sell their possessions and give away the proceeds. Some, as the parables of the Talents and Pounds imply, were to invest them for the profit of the Master (not their own, we should observe), which is only another way of saying they were to be invested in the enterprise of bringing in the Kingdom of God. It is not surprising, therefore, that in the parable of the Sheep and the Goats the final test of acceptance at Jesus' bar of judgment is whether we have fed the hungry, clothed the naked, entertained the strangers, visited the sick and imprisoned [1]—all of which required money in Jesus' day, and requires money and social organization in modern times.

The narrative of the anointing at Bethany [2] affords a supplementary illustration of the place of economics in the expression of love. Mary took her precious

[1] Matt. xxv. 31–46.

[2] John xii. 1 f.

box of ointment, worth some forty dollars (£10) in our money, and lavished it on Jesus as an expression of her boundless affection. The criticism of the disciples reveals both their envious hearts and the preponderant philanthropic emphasis of Jesus. He ordinarily taught the poor should come first, and inculcated by precept and example the simple, inexpensive life.[1] But in this instance Jesus makes an exception. He recognizes that love like Mary's demands an adequate medium of expression, and involves the consecration of ample material values for its declaration. He does not condemn her therefore, but sets the seal of his approval on her devotion and on her use of these appropriate economic means to give it utterance. Jesus had no ascetic view of life. Love as precious as Mary's required something precious and beautiful to be its memorial. The world would certainly have lost more than the poor would have gained had she exchanged her ointment for food and drink for them. "Here is the charter of all undertakings which propose in the name of Christ to feed the mind, to stir the imagination, to quicken the emotions, to make life less meagre, less animal, less dull. 'The limit of luxury,' a modern worker among the poor has remarked, 'is the power of sharing.' Expenditures of wealth on art, on education, on music, on the opening of the resources of nature to the weary life of cities, on the emancipation of mankind from commercial standards, on the provision of humanizing and symbolic ways of pleasure, is not only justified through its elevating and educative effect, but it rests also on the explicit authority of the teaching of Jesus Christ. It is not always better to spend for such ends

[1] Cf. Luke x. 41, 42, R.V. Mg. Note this remark was made by Jesus to Martha in Mary's presence; cf. also John xiii. 29.

than to give to the poor, but it is equally legitimate. The Christian life would be meagre indeed if it could offer no welcome to the unreflecting and spontaneous sacrifice of the heart." [1]

The concrete embodiment of Jesus' principle of love, of course, is Brotherhood. It results from brotherly acts, which exemplify the brotherly spirit. Love begets love. "Give and it shall be given unto you; good measure, pressed down, shaken together, running over, shall they give unto your bosom. For with what measure ye mete, it shall be measured to you again." [2] This is putting it in commercial terms, but it is brotherhood that is measured just the same. More comes back than you give, and even more remains in each heart to flow out and bless other lives. So the tide rises and envelops the world. Jesus does not say that a social order in which Romans exploited Jews and rich Jews their poorer neighbours was wrong; He did not need to, and it was not His method. He released His principle of love. He set before men the ideal and example of universal Brotherhood in the Concept of the Kingdom, and then told them to seek it first of all by devoting all their personal effort and all their economic resources to its realization.

This is revolutionary. It implies the transformation of the unbrotherly economic organization of society into new structures which shall embody the principle of universal love. It means the putting of the Golden Rule into business, into banking, into commerce and into trade. It implies that love shall guide in all the processes of the production, the distribution and the consumption of human goods. Obviously it "turns the

[1] Peabody, *Jesus Christ and the Social Question*, 1900, pp. 219 f.
[2] Luke vi. 38.

world upside down," for the world has been "wrong side up," both the world in which Jesus lived and the world of to-day.

The fourth principle of Jesus is the kingship of service.

It probably came to Him, as we have seen, in His thought of His own mission, through a combination of two Old Testament ideals—the Theocratic King and the Suffering Servant of Jehovah. But He saw they were essentially one, because He found them already united in God. To His disciples this idea when applied to the Messiah was preposterous. It seemed an incongruous and impossible confusion. The Messiah could never be a servant or suffer; the Messiah must rule And they wanted to rule with Him. They looked for a reward for all they had lost. They even strove as to who should sit next on His throne and who would be greatest in the Kingdom of Heaven.[1]

So Jesus turns to the pagan examples around them, to the history through which their nation had passed. The Roman civil wars were but sixty years in the background. One claimant after another had demanded allegiance and made levies upon Syria and Palestine for money and troops. Crassus despoiled the Temple of ten thousand talents and a golden beam of priceless value.[2] Cassius exacted of Judea seven hundred talents and forced the citizens of whole cities to be sold into servitude.[3] The same troublous period fastened on them the rule of the Herods, who were half pagan by birth and authority. Most of them were capricious, extravagant, rapacious and cruel. Like Lorenzo the Magnificent, Herod the Great sought to mask his encroachments

[1] Mark x. 35–45 = Matt. xx. 20–28; cf. Luke xxii. 24–27.
[2] Jos. *Ant.*, xiv. 7, 1. [3] *Ibid.*, xiv. 11, 2.

on their liberties by the grandeur of his reign and the adornment of their cities. The Temple itself, still in process of rebuilding during Jesus' ministry, was a monument both to his hypocrisy and extravagance. All of them were builders and embellishers of cities and temples at the expense of their subjects. Still earlier than the Herods were the Greek Lords of Egypt and Antioch, under whose oppression they had suffered and groaned in turn during the days preceding the Maccabean revolt, and who with rare impudence sometimes had styled themselves "benefactors."

And now on the Tiber ruled Tiberius, the second of the great Roman Emperors, whose dominion extended from the Euphrates to the Pillars of Hercules, and to whom, Tacitus tells us, Syria and Judea in particular had prayed only twelve years before that their burdens be lightened.[1] Jesus did not need to seek far for examples of pagan oppression. Unfortunately His disciples already knew the lesson by heart. They had themselves the heathen conception of ruling. The Messianic hope was to them an all too literal reversal of fortunes with these ruling Gentiles. They were to dominate as they themselves had been dominated. No more ethical conception dawned upon them. And so He explained very plainly: "Ye know that they which are accounted to rule over the Gentiles lord it over them; and their great ones exercise authority over them. It is not so among you, but whosoever would be first among you, shall be servant of all. For verily the Son of Man came not to be ministered unto, but to minister, and to give his life a ransom for many."[2] This was not the first time He had hinted at the same

[1] *Ann.* xi. 42.

[2] Mark x. 42–45 = Matt. xx. 25–28; cf. Luke xxii. 25, 26.

truth. When a little earlier they had quarrelled over their future prerogatives, He had said, "If any man would be first, he shall be last of all and minister of all," and then, taking a little child and putting him in their midst with His arms thrown about him, He said, "Whosoever shall receive one of such little children in my name, receiveth me: and whosoever receiveth me receiveth not me but him that sent me." [1]

These passages contain in principle a new doctrine of ruling. They hold up to condemnation the methods of Greece and Rome, and prescribe for Christians an entirely different principle—the Kingship of Service. What Jesus did on these two occasions was to take the home, with its mutual service, and recognition in proportion to the degree of self-sacrifice, and He took the child with his helplessness, the symbol of the appeal of unwitting and unuttered need, and set him in the centre of a greedy, selfish, quarrelling crowd of grasping men, and said, "Here shall be your right to rule—the unselfishness of your service to others. And here shall be your motive—the dumb but irresistible entreaty of all that is helpless and needy in the world." The politics and business of the world then, as now, had different aims. Rome ruled the world because the Roman loved power and because it paid. He was perfectly ingenuous about it. As Professor Gilbert Murray has pointed out,[2] there were no hypocrisies about the ancient imperialism. They did not prate about the "white man's burden," or cover up with the pious cant of "mandates" its exploitation of subject peoples. Jesus denounced all this, when He insisted the only right to rule is service; the only right to reward is in proportion

[1] Mark ix. 35–37; cf. Matt. xviii. 2–5; Luke ix. 46–48.
[2] *Satanism and the World Order*, 1920, p. 41.

to what one contributes—and that the real motive is not gain at all, but love. This is democracy. It flatly contradicts an economic order organized upon the incentive of profit. It denies the prevalent fallacy that no other stimulus is sufficient to induce men to profitable activity. By placing the child in the midst, Jesus recalls the fact that the motive of love for the helpless and needy in the family engenders the highest nobility of service. This He would universalize, and have us extend to every child of God, in whom we must recognize the Heavenly Father Himself, to whom our service in reality is rendered. Few Christians realize the almost limitless reach of this principle's application. Put in terms of a recent economic study,[1] it implies the transformation of our present "acquisitive society," now organized round the motive of individual love of gain, and tending through continuous education by precept and example to deepen the selfish instincts, and to result inevitably in industrial warfare, into a "functional society," organized round the principle of service, in which rewards are apportioned not upon the ratio of "what men possess, but what they can make or create or achieve." This would change industry from a "business" into a profession, or, to use Paul's term, rather a "vocation." It would make it moral, while to-day it is immoral, because it is organized on selfishness rather than brotherhood. In other words, our commercial, industrial and political life remain largely unchristianized. They are almost as pagan as they were in Jesus' day. We have only played with the application of His principles to society, and have yet to discover how revolutionary His ideas are.

But at this point we are met by the flippant and

[1] Tawney, *The Acquisitive Society*, 1920.

supposedly unanswerable objection, "You cannot change human nature." Jesus was quite well aware of this obstacle, but it did not daunt Him. In fact, He began with "human nature." He said men must learn to "love"—not money but God, not self but other men. He did not begin with society, because to change the economic order without changing men would accomplish nothing. What would the world be advantaged if the rule of Rome was replaced by that of His greedy disciples? His revolution was slow, but it was thorough; for only thus could it be permanent. He was not in a hurry. He believed in God. No doubt He conceived of God's method of working as largely apocalyptic, but He found a place for His own efforts and those of His disciples. And He trusted God to make them effective. Where He used apocalyptic terms we are more likely to speak of God's inevitable moral order. But the difference is not important. It is God's faithfulness in either case that must be trusted. He knew human nature and human society are dynamic and have been changing ever since they began. And to change them was the chief purpose of His life.

Social science reveals Jesus was right. Professor Hocking has well expressed its verdict in his *Human Nature and its Remaking*. "As to structure, human nature is undoubtedly the most plastic part of the living world, the most adaptable, the most educable. Of all animals, it is man in whom heredity counts for least, and conscious building forces for most. Consider that his infancy is longest, his instincts least fixed, his brain most unfinished at birth, his powers of habit-making and habit-changing most marked, his susceptibility to social impressions keenest—and it becomes clear that in every way Nature, as a prescriptive power, has provided

in him for her own displacement. His major instincts and passions first appear on the scene not as a controlling force, but as elements of play, in a prolonged life of play. Other creatures Nature could largely finish ; the human creature must finish himself. . . . To anyone who asserts as a dogma that ' human nature never changes ' it is fair to reply, ' It is human nature to change itself.' "[1] Jesus' attack on the economic and social maladjustments of His day was therefore an attack on the citadel. He sought to change the very nature of man, and emphasized therefore essential principles for the reformation of his character. The revolutionary implications of these principles social science increasingly recognizes. The words of a sociologist may sum it all up :[2] " There are certain aspects of Jesus' teaching which are basic to a wholesome conception of social work, and which may be called scientific without abusing the term. His concept of God as love is the key to any sound process of social amelioration. His vision of justice as laid down in the Golden Rule and the Sermon on the Mount is the greatest Magna Charta of human rights and liberties ever formulated. In His doctrine of the vine and its branches He lays down not only a plan for Church organization—the Church universal, the communion of saints, the City of God, the Mystic Body—but He forecasts a leading concept of modern sociological theory : namely, that human society is an organic unity, if not of a biological, then of the psychological order. And

[1] Hocking, *Human Nature and its Remaking*, 1918, p. 9. For an illuminating elaboration of this plasticity of human nature in relation to the elimination of war and the transformation of the existing regime, cf. Dewey, *Human Nature and Conduct*, 1922, pp. 106 f.

[2] Professor Arthur J. Todd, *The Scientific Spirit and Social Work*, 1919, pp. 75 f.

mark this, that organic unity as Jesus saw it, seems to overleap every barrier of geography or race and to anticipate what we begin to call the international mind."

Who would not call this radically revolutionary? Jesus must have been the most audacious teacher the world has known. To what other thinker, ancient or modern, could these words apply? He was more "modern" than we are! For His thought has gone farther along the way He saw God's creative will was working. His idealism was absolute and yet truly realistic, because His sense of God was complete. He could read and transform the future, because He uniquely comprehended the nature and purpose of God.

# CONCLUSION

THE world is always in the throes of revolution. Upon each generation "the ends of the ages" come. Yet there have been few upheavals comparable to the one we are passing through, and he is blind indeed who does not realize that the European War began a new epoch. A great importance attaches therefore to the attitude which the followers of Christ assume. As Miss Scudder has significantly written : [1] "The attitude of Christian people will probably neither hasten nor delay the tremendous change to industrial democracy which is now in progress ; yet in their hands, especially in the hands of those who stand to lose by the transfer of material power, rests a vast responsibility. For it may be theirs to determine whether, when that change had been accomplished, we shall find Christ or Anti-Christ the master of the world."

The Church has no enviable record as a constructive builder of worlds. Canon Streeter has made her lamentable confession : "The greatest blot on the history of the Church in modern times is the fact that, with the glorious exception of the campaign to abolish slavery, the leaders in the social, political and humanitarian reforms of the last century and a half in Europe

[1] "The New Chivalry," in the *Venturer*, vol. ii (1920), p. 36. Professor Lake's earlier words penned in October 1914 (*Stewardship of Faith*, p. v) bear the same prophecy : "For a new age is coming speedily upon us, and whether it is to come in light or in darkness depends on the clearness of vision and singleness of purpose of the Stewards of Faith."

have rarely been professing Christians; while the authorized representatives of organized Christianity have, as often as not, been on the wrong side." [1] Shall future historians render the same verdict concerning the Church of the present? Surely her prestige and influence empower her for a more effective enunciation and application of the principles of her Lord. Is not the Church by her religious detachment, yet recognized guardianship of the moral judgments of the world, under a peculiar responsibility to impartially declare the economic and social implications of her Gospel, and to strive to mediate between the conflicting forces, and effect a settlement which will conserve continuity with the past, and maintain intact those spiritual values which bid fair to be lost in the general struggle over the means of production and the material resources of the world? It is not so much a question of whether the Church survive—we could perhaps endure her abolition as an institution—but whether those general moral, æsthetic and religious realities for which she has so long stood are to retain any place in the new order which will inevitably emerge from the period of strain and struggle which opens unavoidably before us. That they will not be ultimately eclipsed is the conviction of faith, but the experience of the past gives warning that such realities may be for centuries obscured, and the hard-won achievements of many a long campaign may be lost again because the succeeding generations were unworthy of their inheritance. Nowhere are the prophetic words of Jesus more apt than here: "For from him that hath not, even that which he hath shall be taken away." [2]

[1] "Christ the Constructive Revolutionary" in *The Spirit*, 1919, p. 358.

[2] Matt. xxv. 29.

Such a catastrophe may be partially occasioned by the Church's misunderstanding of her Lord. Her superficial impression to-day is that He is on the side of reaction, that if He were here He would stand for the *status quo*. On the other hand, many books have been written in recent years which tend to show His principles are inconsistent with the present social order, and that if given free course would create a world much like that toward which more or less consciously the submerged and exploited masses of mankind have been struggling. Our investigation is intended to supplement these, and by a study of Jesus' personal attitudes towards some of the movements and institutions of His day to ascertain His prevailing reactions.

Our study has shown, I think, that Jesus was consciously revolutionary. The whole apocalyptic movement was essentially so. It was a crying protest against the crimes, oppressions, the evils, the miseries of the present order. Jesus' ministry is directly related to this apocalyptic movement. The very terms, "Kingdom of God" and "Son of Man" have their origin in it. They themselves are revolutionary conceptions. They both imply the overthrow of the present form of society and the substitution of something else. The conscious antagonism between the "Kingdom" and "the world" embodies and affirms this. "The world," as referred to in the New Testament, is only the present social and political order organized on principles inimical to those of the Kingdom. And "the Kingdom of the world" must "become the Kingdom of our Lord and of His Christ." [1]

Yet Jesus was no ordinary apocalyptist; He was revolutionary in His very use of apocalyptic terms.

[1] Rev. xi. 15.

Though He adopted their form, the content He put into them was more in harmony with the prophets than the apocalyptists. In the prophets the religious and ethical elements dominated. And starting where they left off, Jesus organized, developed and completed their conceptions. Just because His ethical insight was superior to that of the apocalyptic writers, He introduced the dynamic element into His teaching, and related the Kingdom's coming to human effort, and made the developing processes of its attainment really ethical. Here again Jesus was revolutionary. His divergence from John the Baptist arose out of this. His antagonism to the Pharisees likewise. They were content to await a "salvation" which was formal, magical, catastrophic, and unrelated vitally to either the natures of God or man. Jesus' postulates eliminate "magic" and "mystery" from redemption and make it truly ethical.

This was why Jesus said that it is not what "goes into" the body, but what "comes out of the heart" of man which defiles him, and why alms given publicly or righteousness done before men had no value. This is why legalism is not compatible with true religion; because it does not presuppose a truly vital and ethical relation between God and man Likewise the formal Temple ritual and the priestly privilege and mediation based upon it could not be permitted to endure, because they severed and destroyed the direct and spontaneous fellowship of the Spirit of God with the spirit of man.

Jesus disabused men of these misconceptions, broke down these barriers and set men free. He could do it because He was conscious of being free Himself. His sense of Sonship with God made all human customs and conventions, all inherited law, ritual, authority and

government in themselves matters of indifference. The "children" were free. Religion was a matter of the Spirit, and the ultimate authority in morality was the voice of God in the soul. Here is the apotheosis of revolution; here is where Jesus gave an essentially "*new*" religion to the world.

Yet Jesus was at pains to show it was not unrelated to the old. He did not build "upon the air." The forms and regulations of older Judaism were partial embodiments of the truth. Many of His own principles were enunciated in the Old Testament as well as illustrated in its institutions. All of this He recognized, and to all of it He called attention. He felt a complete harmony of spirit between Himself and the God who was genuinely revealed in the Old. Especially in the Psalms and the Prophets did He find a more adequate revelation, and made every effort to bring out His own harmony with it. The Scriptures as a whole had been historically the suggestion and stimulus of His own thinking. He never repudiated them. They constituted His "Bible." Only no crude and rigid doctrine of inspiration forced Him to take them as final. As the prophets before Him, He spoke as one who announced directly and immediately God's will. His own emerging consciousness of God and righteousness revealed often their formal inadequacy. And with absolute assurance and authority He criticized and improved—even contradicted—them. In particular He refused to accept the Mosaic Law as a final revelation of God's will. He was opposed to all external codes as ultimate authorities in religion and morals. The inwardness and immediacy of the vision of God to Him were fundamental. No exterior and impersonal representation could suffice. God and His own soul stood face to face, and He recog-

nized this was an essential condition if there was to be any spiritual religion or genuine morality. A deified code affecting only external conduct never could satisfy. Legalism He saw must be eliminated from morals and formalism from religion. Therefore He emphasized the nearness and Fatherhood of God, and insisted on constructive principles of action and attitude of person in the place of the codes and interpretations, the dogmas and ritual, the postures and practices of contemporary Judaism.

It might be easily supposed that Jesus' consciousness of His Divine Sonship or of His Messianic office permitted Him to substitute Himself for the inadequate authorities He criticized. His "But *I* say unto you" and invariable note of authority might lend colour to such a view. But this would be a very superficial mistake, and one He would be the first to correct. His method was not to proceed first to prove His Divinity or Messiahship and then to insist that men should obey Him because of what He was. The Gospel of Mark, our earliest and most primitive narrative, indicates He displayed the greatest reticence in His personal claims and references to Himself. This was not due to uncertainty or vacillation, nor to prudence or fear, nor was it simply an instance of clever pedagogy or propaganda. It had a deeper explanation. Its origin lay in His conception of the very essence of religion. Just as the successful attempt to make Him a nationalistic King would have wrecked His enterprise, by substituting an external and governmental reform for a moral transformation of the people, so to have put Himself in the place of the Law or the Temple, without throwing men back directly on God, would have prevented the very immediacy and spirituality in religion on which He was insisting.[1]

On this account Jesus did not begin His reform from

[1] Cf. especially Micklem, *The Galilean*, 1920, pp. 134 f.

the top—the perennial mistake of reformers—but chose to start deep down at the foundations of human conduct in the motives and attitudes of the soul. Here lies the reason for His emphasis on the Divine Fatherhood, and why a truly filial relationship to the Father appeared to Him absolutely essential. Human motives cannot be purified by law or penalty, nor human nature refined by fear of retribution. Confidence in God and trust in one's fellow-men must be established before the fine and generous, loving and unselfish capacities of the human spirit can be cultivated, and out of these Jesus saw spring all that is really "good" in human conduct.

In all of this is revealed that Jesus was more than revolutionary. Here emerges the truly constructive creator. Jesus was not an iconoclast, engaged in breaking men's images of worship. He did not destroy the old in order to make a vacancy in which He might build up the new. He built with and upon the old. He used its material wherever possible, and always related His new to the old which had preceded it. He was Himself the scribe "made a disciple to the Kingdom," who "brought forth out of his treasure things new and old." [1] He had an infallible sense for development, for continuity —one might almost say "evolution," did that not connote a philosophy of nature and history obviously it would be an anachronism to attribute to Him. But He had pondered God's methods long enough to recognize the central importance of "growth," and for ever signalized it in the parables of the Sower, the Seed growing secretly, the Leaven, etc. Even the hampering apocalyptic materials with which He worked did not prevent His transmuting them often into dynamic concepts.[2] God to Him was the "living God," and this

[1] Matt. xiii. 52.

[2] Cf. von Dobschütz, *Eschatology of the Gospels*, 1910, pp. 150 f.

implied He was the God of the past and present as well as of the future. The same God who now was making all things new had in the beginning created the heavens and the earth.

Jesus' attitude towards Rome is predominantly apocalyptic, yet here also is observable a certain ethical transmutation. The world empires had bulked largely in the minds of the apocalyptic writers. For Jesus, however, Rome was of little moment. The Jewish nationalistic hopes, He saw, were leading the nation to ruin. He predicted the catastrophe toward which they were inevitably tending. For Him the way of deliverance did not lead through nationalism, because the causes of their misery lay deeper than the political and economic domination of an alien power. Consequently He was not particularly interested in either Roman tyranny or Jewish independence. But in this there is conspicuous what might be called a super-revolutionary position. He was evidently neither a nationalist nor an imperialist; nevertheless He was still the genuine patriot. Jerusalem "did not know the things that pertained unto her peace," but it was because that "peace" was so inexpressibly precious to Him that this conviction was so agonizing. The citizens of the Kingdom of God were primarily the Jewish nation. Their rejection of its claims must have wrung Jesus' heart quite as much as Romans, chapters ix–xi, shows it did Paul's. Jesus was truly one who "prayed for the peace of Jerusalem." But He saw that peace lay only through the acceptance of His divinely sanctioned programme. His patriotism and His allegiance to God were therefore one. Neither nationalism nor imperialism appealed to Him, because His loyalty was already given to a universal sovereignty —more inclusive even than Rome's most extravagant ambitions—namely, the Kingdom of God.

This simplified greatly the problem of His loyalties. For Him patriotism was subsumed in His devotion to God. Anything in conflict with that devotion could not be a genuine patriotism—it was necessarily spurious. Therefore the existing Governments at Jerusalem and Rome possessed no right to command an obedience which was inconsistent with His consciousness of God's will. When "He set His face to go up to Jerusalem," He set it also against the official representatives of the Jewish nation and the Roman Empire. He assumed a morally revolutionary rôle in His espousal of the cause of the Kingdom, even if He was not a political revolutionist. He died as a disloyal rebel just as truly as if He had been arrested while leading an insurrection. Rome did not adventitiously put Him to death. It was wholly consistent with her conscious policy of persecution of the Christians in the centuries which followed. The issue then had become clear-cut and obvious: one or the other must conquer—the pagan imperialism or the "pale Galilean."

Politics and economics have always been inextricably entangled. Human government is mainly concerned with the forcible imposition or maintenance of an accepted economic order. Rome was no exception; she was rather the typical example. The toll of the provinces, the exploitation of the masses, the labour of the slaves was almost wholly appropriated by the restricted group in whose interest the empire was governed. Both the Roman Government and her economic system were inconsistent with the religious and moral principles of Jesus. If Rome did not recognize it, her Jewish minions, the high priests, did, and they pointed it out to Pilate in the deeply significant words: "If thou release this man thou art not Cæsar's friend." [1]

[1] John xix. 12.

The two stood for totally different orders of society : the one for the selfish, ruthless and cruel exploitation of the many in the interest of the few ; the other for a humane, altruistic and unselfish mutual service of each man for his brother. They could not help but be antithetic. There was no other choice. The Galilean must die. But He knew that if He died He would live—and ultimately draw all men unto Himself. The issue proves He was right. The centuries crown Him the All-Conqueror.

" Hatred makes no mistakes. It has been guided by a sure instinct to the right mark ; for an enemy often sees more clearly than a friend. No, there is no doubt about it, the most dangerous adversary of society and the established order in this world of violence, falsehood and base compromises is, and always has been, the man of peace and a free conscience. The crucifixion of Jesus was no accident ; He had to be put to death. He would be executed to-day ; for a great evangelist is a revolutionary, and the most radical of all. He is the inaccessible source from whence revolutions break through the hard ground, the eternal principle of non-submission of the spirit to Cæsar, no matter who he may be—the unjust force. This explains the hatred of those servants of the State, the domesticated peoples, for the insulted Christ who looks at them in silence and also for His disciples, for us, the eternal insurrectionists, the conscientious objectors to tyranny from high or low, to that of to-day or to-morrow . . . for us, who go before One greater than ourselves, who comes bringing to the world the Word of salvation, the Master laid in the grave, but *qui sera en agonie jusqu'a la fin du monde*, whose suffering will endure to the world's end, the unfettered Spirit, the Lord of all." [1]

[1] Romain Rolland, *Clerambault*, 1921, pp. 285 f.